

# THE WESTERN IMPACT ON BYZANTIUM: THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

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## I. INTRODUCTION:

"Romània perduta" and "Romània nuova"

Byzantine Greece and the medieval West, at certain periods, were closely intertwined and their entanglement caused, and is reflected in, multiple traces in their languages. The process for either side was one of giving and taking.<sup>1</sup> Greece contributed strongly to Late Latin and proto-Romance on both the popular and the educated levels;<sup>2</sup> and in the early and high Middle Ages the Byzantine su-

<sup>1</sup>A survey of the Graeco-Latin intertwining from a Balkanic standpoint: G. Reichenkron, "Die Bedeutung des Griechischen für die Entstehung des balkansprachlichen Typus," *Beiträge zur Südosteuropa-Forschung* (anlässlich des I. Internationalen Balkanologenkongresses in Sophia [Munich, 1966]), 3–23.

<sup>2</sup>H. and R. Kahane, *Romance Philology*, 31 (1977–78), 644–48; and "Paideia, a Linguistic Subcode," in *Wege zur Universalienforschung* [Festschrift Hansjakob Seiler], Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik, 145 (Tübingen, 1980), 509–20.

perstratum in the West, comparable to the Germanic and Arabic, mirrored in its numerous—about two hundred—borrowings the image and the impact of a glamorous and technologically advanced society.<sup>3</sup> The focus of the present essay is reversed: it concentrates, in the style of a synthesis, on the traces which the Western languages left in the language of Byzantium. Essentially it builds upon the materials and results of various and widely scattered studies of our own, above all the second part of our comprehensive survey in the *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, I, 499–640.

The receptive role of Greek correlates with the two phases of Late Latin and Romance which Tagliavini labels *Romània perduta* and *Romània nuova*.<sup>4</sup> *Romania Lost* refers, in a broad view, to the incisive political, cultural, and linguistic developments of waning antiquity; where, in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, Rome endured, Romanization survived; where it weakened in the exertion of its military and administrative power, its impact on the regional language receded. The areas of retreat, forming a vast circle around the stable Romanized core, had not yet or had just superficially been Latinized, and with the breakdown of the Imperium either went on speaking their prevailing languages or were to accept new ones imposed by new invaders. Latin, then, as everyman's medium of communication, faded away in Celtic Britannia; in the German frontierland along the Rhine and Danube; in the Pyrenees with their Basque population; in African Barbary; in the Balkan region, particularly Albania; in the Hellenophone provinces of the Empire. Yet everywhere it left its traces, and the abundant Latin relics in the *Romania Lost*, whose unified presentation remains a desideratum, are apt to throw light on the regional varieties of the Roman heritage as well as on the history of the Romance lexicon.

The *New Romania*, on the other hand, is a movement starting in the high Middle Ages, which encompasses the transfer of Romance into newly accessible areas, essentially within the course of

colonial expansion. The sea is the dominant medium in the multifaceted process: the Atlantic with the Hispanization and Lusitanization of the Americas and the French of Canada; the southwest Pacific with the Spanish of the Philippines; the Indian Ocean with the French creoles; the Mediterranean with Judeo-Spanish and, of course, the case under discussion, the impact of Romance on Greek. The episode of the *Oriens latinus* and the medieval colonization of Greece labelled Francocracy prefigures the Atlantic expansion. In this epoch-making effect rests a part of its significance.

The impact of the Western languages on Greek will be retraced in the frame of the three main stages of acculturation: Latin is tied to the blending of *Romanitas* and Hellenism, labelled *Romanía*; French, to the infiltration of the feudalistic society; and Italian, predominantly to the Venetian maritime and commercial colonization. Each superstratum mediated the keyterms of its style and its image, and we shall illustrate with typical samples.

## II. THE LATINISMS

1. RISE AND DECLINE OF LATIN IN THE EAST. The acceptance of Latin elements into Byzantine Greek continued a process of long duration.<sup>5</sup> The Latin-

<sup>3</sup> A synopsis, valuable as a first step: L. Lafoscade, "Influence du latin sur le grec," in *Études de philologie néo-grecque*, ed. J. Psichari, BEHET, 92 (Paris, 1892), 83–158. The trail-blazing lexicological study, with stress on the Latin continuity in Modern Greek: G. Meyer, *Neugriechische Studien*, III: *Die lateinischen Lehnworte im Neugriechischen*, SBWien, Philos.-hist. Kl., 132:3 (1895). Concerning the Latinisms in the popular literature of medieval Greece, particularly from a phonological standpoint: M. A. Triantaphyllidis, *Die Lehnwörter der mittelhellenischen Vulgärliteratur* (hereafter *Lehnwörter*) (Strasbourg, 1906), 119–32 with a list of Latinisms. The adaptation of the Latinisms to the Greek linguistic system from the 6th to the 13th century: St. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*, *Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, 2 (Göttingen, 1913). Three studies, stressing the historical background, by L. Hahn: *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sprache, bis auf die Zeit Hadrians* (Leipzig, 1906); "Zum Sprachenkampf im römischen Reich bis auf die Zeit Justinians," *Philologus: Supplementband* 10 (1907), 675–718; "Zum Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache in Konstantinopel," *Festgabe Martin von Schanz* (Würzburg, 1912), 173–83. The language question from the standpoint of education: H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1965), esp. chap. III:3. A comprehensive investigation of the special terminologies of law and army: H. Zilliacus, *Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im oströmischen Reich* (hereafter *Weltsprachen*) (Helsingfors, 1935; rpr. Amsterdam, 1965). Select Greek Latinisms from antiquity to c. 1100, with particular attention to the chronology of the records: F. Viscidi, *I prestiti latini nel greco antico e bizantino* (hereafter *Prestiti*) (Padua, 1944). Two recent surveys of the Graeco-Latin diglossia in Byzantium: H. Mihăescu, "Die Lage der zwei Weltsprachen (Griechisch und Latein) im byzantinischen Reich des 7. Jahrhunderts als Merkmal einer Zeitwende" (hereafter

<sup>3</sup> H. and R. Kahane, "Abendland und Byzanz: Sprache," in *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, ed. P. Wirth, I (Amsterdam, 1970–76), 347–498, and "Byzantium's Impact on the West: The Linguistic Evidence," *Illinois Classical Studies*, 6 (1981), 389–415. With concentration on Venice: M. Cortelazzo, *L'influsso linguistico greco a Venezia*, *Linguistica*, 2 (Bologna, 1970), with a discussion of 278, prevalently Byzantine and post-Byzantine, Hellenisms, supplemented by the review article, H. and R. Kahane, "On Venetian Byzantinisms," *Romance Philology*, 27 (1973–74), 356–67.

<sup>4</sup> C. Tagliavini, *Le origini delle lingue neolatine: Introduzione alla filologia romanza*, 5th ed. (Bologna, 1969), 170–203.

ization of Greek started with the early contacts between the two cultures, increased with the Roman conquest of Greece, and reached its greatest extent with the intensive Romanization of the Hellenic East in the imperial era. Latin became the *lingua legitima*<sup>6</sup> yet Greek, the language of education, coexisted and survived. The ideal citizen of Graeco-Roman civilization was first a bilingual whose choice of language depended on the domain: Greek on cultural matters, Latin on political affairs. With the language policy of the fourth-century Emperors the linguistic balance shifted in favor of Latinization. The foundation of Nova Roma, Constantinople, in 330 required the massive build-up of a Roman bureaucracy in the East. For two and a half centuries Constantinople represented the Roman state within the Greek world. The eastern half of the Imperium, which outlived the western half by a millennium, perceived itself as the heir of the *Romanitas*, and called itself *Romanía*, Land of the Romans. Latin, into the 6th century, was an obligatory qualification for entrance into the imperial service; the nearby reservoir of the Balkan Latinity fed the army and contributed to the continued vitality of Latin; Roman law was practiced and kept legal Latin alive; Latin was prevalent in commerce, with Latin names of coins, measures, and merchandise. But the demographic developments militated against the preservation of such conditions and from the fifth century on the use of Latin began to recede. The newcomers moving from the hinterland into the Polis, above all from Asia Minor, increased the proportion of Hellenophone speakers; the political and religious schism between East and West, accentuated by the Slavic invasions of the Balkan area, decreased the Latin contingent and therewith its linguistic impact on the indigenous population. By 450, as Dagron describes the conditions at the court of Theodosius II, "Latin ceased to be a language

of daily use in the Emperor's entourage"; by the time of Heraclius (610–41) it was a dead language in the East.

Although Latin was gone as a living means of communication, traces of it survived.<sup>7</sup> Two intertwined currents carried them. The one was what B. Hemmerdinger<sup>8</sup> calls the "administrative routine:" the inherent conservatism of bureaucratic and technical terminologies, cherished by the dominant and professional groups of society. The other is a sociolinguistic law: the lasting impact of an outgoing prestige language on the evolving common form of speech. The use of Latin words on the spoken level was considerable; Latinisms particularly appear in Byzantine texts of a popular style and thus may be assumed to have filtered down to the colloquial language; and, indeed, Dagron ties the diglossia, characteristic of the medieval and modern structure of Greek, to its effect:<sup>9</sup> he sees in the Latin strain of Greek the catalyst of the developing Demotic, contrasting it with the Greek strain, which was the foundation of the Puristic. The two levels differed by the lexicological xenophobia of the Puristic, which first accepted but later purged Latinisms, and the lexicological xenophilia of the Demotic. The Latinisms, which, from the start, were less subject to the phonological and morphological constraints of the conservative Puristic, contributed, in their "trickle-down" from the jargon of civil servants and professionals to common speech, to the growing divergence between the two languages.<sup>10</sup>

The following survey of the Latinisms will concentrate on three phases: the Latinity in the early period; the Latin tradition during the acme of the Empire; and its survival.

2. THE LATINITY OF THE EARLY PERIOD. Various registers of public life, such as administration (well reflected in the terminology of John Lydus) were permeated by the Latin superstratum. Three characteristic sectors are here selected for illustration of the process: the law, the army, and the daily life of the provincials as recorded in the Greek papyri. **A. Legal Terminology:** In the sixth century the language of law is a blend of Greek and Latin terms; in the ninth, under the Macedonian dynasty, a less

"Weltsprachen") in *Studien zum 7. Jahrhundert in Byzanz*, eds. H. Köpstein und F. Winkelmann, *Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*, 47 (Berlin, 1976), 95–100; and H. and R. Kahane, "Decline and Survival of Western Prestige Languages" (hereafter "Decline and Survival"), *Language*, 55 (1979), 183–98, esp. 185–86. An anatomy of the Byzantine diglossia and its impact on the modern Language Question in G. Dagron, "Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'état" (hereafter "Origines"), *RH*, 241 (1969), 23–56.

<sup>6</sup>The growth of the Latin elements in Greek and the motivation of the process are brought to life in the glossary of Latin-Greek equations in the Greek papyri compiled by H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, *American Studies in Papyrology*, 13 (Toronto, 1974), 17–100: it highlights the Greek speaker's dilemma in transferring Roman concepts into his language, and often (in 150 of 1200 cases) he preferred borrowing to translation.

<sup>7</sup>Kahane, "Decline and Survival," 193–94.

<sup>8</sup>"Les lettres latines à Constantinople jusqu'à Justinien," *ByzF*, 1 (1966), 174.

<sup>9</sup>Dagron, "Origines," 55.

<sup>10</sup>M. Triantaphyllidis, *Νεοελληνική γραμματική* (Athens, 1938), 39–40.

adulterated Hellenism gained ground. The Latinisms which survived the process of purification survived in the legal compilations from the tenth to the thirteenth century and partly even into Modern Greek. The sources, such as Justinian's *Novellae*, the Paraphrase by Theophilus, and the *Scholia vetera* to the *Basilica*<sup>11</sup> contain about seven hundred Latinisms.<sup>12</sup> We present a small sample:

(i) Real right and law of obligations: πακτεύω, der. of πάκτον ← *pactum* 'contract,' from *paciscor* 'to make a contract.'—χομμοδάτον ← *commodatum* 'loan for use.'—κονφουσίων ← *confusio* 'coincidence of the creditor's right and the debtor's obligation in one person.' (ii) Law of persons and family law: διβόρτιον ← *divortium* 'divorce.'—ἀλοῦμνος ← *alumnus* 'foundling raised by the finder.'—ἐμαγκιπατεύω, der. of ἐμαγκιπάτος ← *emancipatus*, from *emancipare* '(of a *pater familias*) to release (a son, etc.) from one's *potestas*.' (iii) Civil law: κοιαισιτών ← *questio*, elliptic for *questio per tormenta* 'investigation by torture.'—ἀβσολουτώριος ← *absolutorius*, adj. to *absolutio* 'acquittal.'—κοντουμακία ← *contumacia* 'disobedience to judicial order.' (iv) Criminal law: φούρτιβον ← *furtivum* 'stolen goods.'—ποίνα ← *poena* 'penalty.'—φουρκίζω 'to hang,' der. of φούρκα ← *furca* 'gallows,' which in Byzantium replaces the cross. (v) Administrative law: ἀκτουάριος ← *actuarius* 'tachygrapher, clerk at court recording the proceedings.'—βρέβιον ← *breve* (via plur. *brevia*?) 'roster (such as tax roll, inventory list of private or public debtors).'—ἀλιμεντάριος ← *alimentarius* 'a person whose maintenance is provided for by private or public charity.'

**B. The Military Jargon:** In the pluriethnic and multilingual Eastern army Latin was the *lingua franca*, the agent of cohesion and unity.<sup>13</sup> A policy of Latinization became, accordingly, the primary means toward the goal of Romanization which Constantine the Great (first half of the 4th c.) envisioned. Latinisms permeated the soldiers' jargon,

and one must assume that they transferred much of their professional speech into their general forms of communication. The special language of the army has been preserved in various treatises by Byzantine tacticians,<sup>14</sup> above all the *Strategicon* by Maurice (late 6th-early 7th c.).<sup>15</sup> The domains most open to Latin terms, as evidenced in Maurice, are army units, weapons, and commands: (i) Army units.<sup>16</sup> As *nomina agentis* the terms of this pattern proved to be a vehicle for the concomitant adaptation of Latin agent suffixes such as *-tor/-sor/-atus/-arius*: σαγιττάτωρ ← *sagittator* 'archer' (var. of *sagittarius*).—κούρσωρ ← *cursor* 'courier.'—σκουτάτος 'heavily armed soldier' ← *scutatus* 'soldier bearing a shield.'—δρακονάριος ← *draconarius* 'standard bearer.' (ii) Weapons:<sup>17</sup> ἄστύλιον ← *hastile* 'shaft of a spear.'—βηρύττα ← *verutum* 'javelin.'—σκοῦτον, with σκοῦτάριον, ← *scutum* 'shield.'—λαγκίδιον, dim. of λαγκία ← *lancea* 'lance,' with dim. *lanceola*.—φάλλα, with φαλκίον and φαλκίδιον, ← *falx* (stem *falc-*) 'curved sword.' Hellenized variants such as ἄστύλιον and σκοῦτάριον exemplify the appeal of the regularizing suffix *-ιον* and the transfer of the Lat. suffix *-arium*. (iii) Commands: The passage *Strategicon* XII, 14 is typical of the commands which led the Byzantine armies against Persians and Slavs:<sup>18</sup> *Silentium! Mandata captate! Non vos turbatis! Ordinem servate! Bando sequite! Nemo demittat bandum et inimicus seque!* "Silence! Listen to the orders! No disturbance! Remain in rank and file! Follow your unit! Nobody is allowed to leave his unit, and pursue the enemy!"

**C. Everyday Language:** The Egyptian papyri document the multilingual situation in a Greek province of the Empire. In late antiquity Egypt was a region of three languages: a Hellenistic culture, superimposed upon an indigenous Egyptian population, yet under the Roman government. Greek

<sup>14</sup>Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, II, 323–40 (Kriegswesen).

<sup>15</sup>Text: *Mauricii Strategicon*, ed. H. Mihăescu, Scriptores Byzantini, 6 (Bucharest, 1970). A survey of the Latinization of military terminology: H. Mihăescu, "Les éléments latins des *Tactica Strategica* de Maurice-Urbicius et leur écho en néo-grec" (hereafter "Éléments latins"), *RESEE*, 6 (1968), 481–98.

<sup>16</sup>After Zilliacus, *Weltsprachen*, 216–39. Previous investigations within the framework of military history: F. Aussaresses, *L'armée byzantine à la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le Strategicon de l'empereur Maurice*, Bibl. des Universités du Midi, 14 (Bordeaux-Paris, 1909); and R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (Berlin, 1920).

<sup>17</sup>After Mihăescu, "Éléments latins," 490–93.

<sup>18</sup>The text after H. Mihăescu, "Les termes de commandement militaires latins dans le *Strategicon* de Maurice," *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, 14 (1969), 270. An interpretation of the passage (with textual variants) by G. Reichenkron, "Zur römischen Kommandosprache bei byzantinischen Schriftstellern," *BZ*, 54 (1961), 18–27.

<sup>11</sup>P. E. Pieler, "Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur" (hereafter "Rechtsliteratur"), in H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II (hereafter *Profane Literatur*), HAW, 12: *Byz. Hdbch.*, V:2 (Munich, 1978), 407–11 (*Novellae*), 419–20 (Theophilus), 463–64 (*Basilica*).

<sup>12</sup>Concerning Latin law terms in Byzantine Greek: C.-C. Triantaphyllidès, "Lexique des mots latins dans Théophile et les *Novelles* de Justinien" (hereafter, "Lexique"), in J. Psichari, ed., *Études de philologie néo-grecque*, BEHET, 92 (Paris, 1892), 255–77, with a presentation by Psichari, 159–254. We follow Zilliacus, *Weltsprachen*, 172–215. M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, HAW: *Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums*, III:3.1–2 (Munich, 1955 and 1959) often traces the semantic development of a Roman law term into the Byzantine era. For the Greek transcription of Latin law terms: A. Dain, "La transcription des mots latins en grec dans les *Gloses nomiques*," *REL*, 8 (1930), 92–113.

<sup>13</sup>Mihăescu, "Weltsprachen," 99.



was the language of the municipal administration, the lesser civil servants, and the private citizen. Latin was the language of the imperial administration and of the army, and many Latin elements which existed in the speech of the veterans filtered into the speech of the provincials. The papyri of the sixth century, written in Greek (a few being dated either 5th-6th or 6th-7th c.), contain numerous Latinisms, partly, of course, terms of an official content, but partly items of the everyday lexicon. The latter, colloquial Latinisms, refer to commerce, the crafts, the settlement, and fashion. Examples:<sup>19</sup> (i) Economy: διάριον 'daily ration, daily wage' ← *diarium* 'daily ration.'—πεκούλιον 'private possession, e.g., of the slave (as distinguished from that of the master)' ← *peculium*.—κάμπανος 'steelyard' ← *campana*. (ii) Occupations: μάγκις 'baker' ← *manceps* 'leaseholder,' later 'baker.'—βουρδωνάριος 'muleteer' ← *burdonarius*.—κελλάριος 'keeper of a larder or cellar' ← *cellarius*. (iii) The settlement: ὀσπίτιον 'dwelling house' ← *hospitium* 'lodging.'—ὄρριον 'storehouse, granary' ← *horreum*.—στάβλον 'stable' ← *stabulum*. (iv) Clothing: καμίσιον 'shirt' ← *camisia* (with change of gender).—σαγίον 'mantle,' der. of σάγος ← *sagum*.—καλίγιον 'shoe,' der. of \*κάλιγα / κάλικα ← *caliga* 'boot.'

### 3. THE LATIN TRADITION IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

Latin, in the heyday of the Eastern Empire, was of course no longer a living means of communication; yet it survived in the lexicon of public life. The terminologies of three milieus are characteristic: the court, the guilds, and the hippodrome.<sup>20</sup> A. The Court: The Court of Byzantium, in Schramm's words,<sup>21</sup> evolved as the upholder of the old and true imperial tradition, setting the standards for the Roman ideals; the West, interestingly, reconstituted the Roman past from that most

faithful preserver of Romanism, Byzantium: the Byzantine court terminology of Latin provenience was in part reborrowed by the West and thus substantiates the impact of an intermediate Byzantine stage in the evolution of medieval Western institutions from Roman prototypes. The history of this special terminology still needs clarification. Lat. *cors* / *cortem*, e.g., appears in Byzantine Greek as κόρτη / κούρτη, with a primary use 'enclosure, pen for cattle' and the secondary, 'imperial tent and headquarters,' the latter possibly stimulated by the model of Byz. αὐλή 'enclosure, pen for cattle' and 'court of a prince.' Western *corte* of Latin provenience and the general word for an 'enclosed ground,' may, in its specific (and so far unexplained<sup>22</sup>) use as 'court of a prince,' first recorded in Carolingian times,<sup>23</sup> have been under the influence of its Byzantine congener.

(i) Dignitaries and officers. Numerous Latin terms of the imperial administration, which were transferred to Byzantium in the early centuries of the Eastern Empire, from the fourth to the sixth, were still in use by the end of the tenth. Yet, the conservatism of the word did not always correspond to a conservatism of its content: some of the titles, in the course of the development, shifted their meaning. The nomenclature of Byzantine officialdom is preserved in the *Kletorologion* [Guestlist] of 899, by Philotheus:<sup>24</sup> he was an ἀρχικλίνης, a master of ceremonies at the Court, and the list was a manual intended to help him in the performance of his duties: the hierarchic arrangement of the dignitaries and officers made it possible to seat the guests according to rank.

Three morphological patterns of the Latinistic titles are discernible:

Nomina agentis copying the Latin model: νοβελήσιμος, member of the imperial family ← *nobilissimus*. — ὀφφικιάλιος 'highranked civil servant and his subordinates' ← *officialis* 'official.' — καγκελλάριος 'official in a government office' ← *cellarius* 'doorkeeper, clerk.' — κόμης, a title of 'officials in military or courtly service, in charge of the

<sup>19</sup> The records are cited after S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 3 (Barcelona, 1971), based on an earlier version, "Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto," *Aegyptus*, 40 (1960), 177–314. Previous investigations: C. Wessely, "Die lateinischen Elemente in der Gräzität der ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden," *Wiener Studien*, 24 (1902), 99–151 and 25 (1903), 40–77; B. Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*, Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde, 1:1 (Leipzig, 1927); R. Cavenaile, "Influence latine sur le vocabulaire grec d'Égypte," *Chronique d'Égypte*, 26 (1951), 391–404, and "Quelques aspects de l'apport linguistique du grec au latin d'Égypte," *Aegyptus*, 32 (1952), 191–203.

<sup>20</sup> As to realia, we draw on the encyclopedic Words-and-Things commentary to the Byzantine sources by Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός* (Life and civilization of the Byzantines), 6 vols. (Athens, 1948–57), esp. II:1, 179–258 (guilds); III, 7–80 (hippodrome).

<sup>21</sup> Percy E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 17 (Leipzig-Berlin, 1929), I, 27, 28, 112.

<sup>22</sup> W. v. Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (hereafter *FEW*) (Bonn, etc., 1928–), II:1, 852.

<sup>23</sup> J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), s.v. *curtis*, #13.

<sup>24</sup> Pieler, "Rechtsliteratur," in Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, II, 471. Text: N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantine des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1972). We follow J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, with a Revised Text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos* (London, 1911; rpr. 1958). Indices [Πίνακες] to Bury's edition of the *Kletorologion*, by Martha Gregoriou-Ioannidou, in *Ἑπιστ. Ἑπ. Φιλ. Σχ. Θεσσαλ.*, 10 (1968), 165–240.

imperial tent, the imperial stables, and the walls' ← *comes* 'retainer.' – δστιάριος 'eunuch of the Palace who introduces the dignitaries' ← *ostiarius* 'door-keeper.'

Greek derivatives of Latin bases: κουροπαλάτης 'kinsman of the emperor' ← *cura palatii* / *curapalati* 'superintendent of the palaces,' with transformation of a Latin noun plus genitive modifier into a compound plus agent suffix. – ἀσηκρήτης, highest rank of the imperial secretaries ← *a secretis* '(the official) of the imperial bureaus,' with transfer of the Lat. ablative inflection *-is* to the Greek agent suffix *-ης* [*-is*]. – σύγκελλος 'high ecclesiastical dignitary, probably a mediator between the patriarch and the emperor,' derived, by means of the prefix *συν-* and the agent suffix *-ος*, from κέλλα ← *cella*, thus something like 'cellmate.' – σκριβων 'officer of the imperial bodyguard' ← *scriba* 'accountant, also in military administration.'

Genitive epithets with locative function. These usually refer to certain locations in the imperial palace: (κόμης or ἄρχων) τοῦ στάβλου 'officer in charge of the imperial stables,' with στάβλον 'stable' ← *stabulum*. – (ὁ) τῶν σεκρέτων 'official in one of the bureaus in the Palace,' gen. plur. of σέκρετον 'bureau' ← *secretum* 'secluded, i.e., inaccessible location; government bureau.' – (νοτάριος) τῶν ἀρχῶν 'official in charge of the imperial treasury' ← *arca* / *arcula* 'cash box.' – (κόμης) τῆς κόρτης 'officer in charge of the imperial tent,' with κόρτη 'tent' ← *cohortem* / *cortem* 'enclosure.'

(ii) Acclamations. At the imperial court, the conventional forms of official behavior were accompanied by set phrases, acclamations.<sup>25</sup> These linguistic correlates of ceremonial acts, preserved in the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, unfolded in processions, in the circus, at banquets. They were often in Latin and, as the frequent presence of immediately following translations suggests, in a Latin no longer understood. Yet, the opaqueness of language expressed, by itself, a political goal: the hidden meaning of the phrases lay in their tradition, which underscored the permanency of the monarchic principle. The effect of Latin, in short, was "systemstabilisierend."<sup>26</sup>

Examples:<sup>27</sup> Acclamations directed to the Em-

peror and the Empress: καλῶς ἦλθετε, οἱ μουλτούσανοι "welcome, *in multos annos*."<sup>28</sup> – βαῖνε, βαῖνε, ἡ Αὐγοῦστα "*bene, bene, Augusta*."<sup>29</sup> Acclamations to the Emperor at the beginning of the banquet: Κωνσερβεθ Δέους ἡμπέρηουμ βέστρουμ "*Conservet Deus imperium vestrum*." – Βόνα τοῦα σέμπερ "*Bona tua semper*." – Βίκτωρ σῆς σέμπερ "*Victor sis semper*." – Μουλτουσάννους φικίδιαθ Δέους "*Multos annos efficiat te Deus*." Δέους πρένστεθ "*Deus praestet*." – At the end of the banquet : Βόνω δόμνω σέμπερ "*Bono domino semper*."<sup>30</sup>

**B. The Guilds:** The guilds of Byzantium were described in a manual, Ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον [Book of the Prefect], of the first half of the tenth century, by Emperor Leo VI the Wise.<sup>31</sup> It was a directive for the City Prefect, who supervised the municipal trades. The guilds were inherited from the early imperial times, balancing monopolies with public duties, and some of them still carried their traditional Latin names, with the usual adaptation to Greek morphology. The stubborn preservation of the names of dealers and shopkeepers, at the start accepted probably because of the dominant role of the state in the Byzantine guilds, may have been symptomatic of the diastatic shift of Latinity: features of the former prestige language (here, lexical items) tended to trickle down into general speech.

Examples: βουλλωτής 'sealer,' i.e., official of the municipal prefecture in charge of mounting seals on measures, weights, and scales, der. of the verb βουλλόω, itself from βουῖλλα 'seal' ← *bullā*. – βεστιοπράτης 'clothesdealer, esp. in silks,' an agent compound (rendering Lat. *vesti-arius*) with the first element βεστίον 'clothing' itself der. from βέστη ← *vestis*. – σαλδαμάριος 'grocer,' var. of σαλγαμάριος ← *salgamarius* 'dealer of pickles.' – λωροτόμος 'harness maker,' a compound (corresponding to Lat. *lorarius*) containing λῶρος ← *lorum* / *lorus* 'strap.' – μακελλάριος 'butcher' ← *macellarius*. – μάγκιψ 'baker' ← *manceps* 'leaseholder, manager of a bakery; baker.'

**C. The Hippodrome:** The famous Hippodrome of Byzantium, which (as most of them in the Empire) copied, in re and in terminology, the Roman cir-

<sup>28</sup> Vogt, I, 16.20–21 (Text).

<sup>29</sup> Vogt, II, 20.7 (Text).

<sup>30</sup> Vogt, II, 171–72 (Text).

<sup>31</sup> Pieler, "Rechtsliteratur," in Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, II, 470–71. Text: ed. J. Nicole, in J. Zepos and P. Zepos, *Jus graeco-romanum*, II (Athens, 1931), 369–392 (rpr. London 1970, with French, Latin, and English translations and a new Introduction by I. Dujčev). Interpretations: A. Stöckle, *Spättrömische und byzantinische Zünfte*, *Klio*, Suppl. 9 (Leipzig, 1911); G. Mickwitz, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte und ihre Bedeutung bei der Entstehung des Zunftwesens*, *Societas Scientiarum Fennica: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, VIII:3 (Helsingfors, 1936).

<sup>25</sup> T. Klauser, in *RAC*, I (1950), cols. 216–33.

<sup>26</sup> Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, I, 73–74.

<sup>27</sup> Text: Constantin VII Porphyrogenète, *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt., 2 vols., Coll. Byz. (Paris, 1935–39). Commentary: *Le livre des cérémonies: Commentaire*, ed. A. Vogt, 2 vols., Coll. Byz. (Paris, 1935–40).

cus, became a center of popular entertainment. The various phases of the competitions followed largely the Roman example. The most extensive description is by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, lib. I, cap. 77–82.<sup>32</sup> His exposition was partly based on older models of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Examples from the four subfields of circus jargon: (i) The circus: σένζον 'seat of the Emperor' ← *sessus* 'seat.' – τέντα 'the prefect's tent in the circus' ← *\*tenda*. – κάγκελλα, n. pl. 'barriers in the race-course' ← *cancelli* 'barriers in theatre and circus.' (ii) Equipment: βήγα 'chariot' ← *biga* 'two-horsed chariot.' – κασσίδι(ο)ν 'official helmet of the charioteers,' der. of κασσίς / acc. κασσίδα ← *cassis* / *cassida* 'metal helmet.' – ὄρνα 'urn to draw lots for the arrangement of the racers' ← *urna* 'urn for lots.' (iii) The race: κομβίνα 'disposition (through drawing lots) of the horses and charioteers; program of the games' ← Late Lat. *\*combina* 'arrangement,' deverbal from *combinare*. – βοτόν 'race taking place on January 3rd,' der. of βότα ← *vota* plur. 'day on which vows were made for the good of the emperor (Jan. 3rd),' an ancient Roman institution. – συμπερέστης 'victor in the race' ← (*qui*) *superest* 'the survivor' plus agent suffix. (iv) Officials and personnel: βένετος 'charioteer and supporter of the circus party of the Blues' ← *venetus* 'blue,' then 'partisan of the Blue Party.' – ῥούσιος 'charioteer and supporter of the circus party of the Reds' ← *russeus* 'red' (*russei* [*panni*] *auriga* 'charioteer of the Red Party' [Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VII, 186]). – θεσσαράριος 'official to transmit the order for the start of a race,' haplological variant of θεσσαράριος ← *tesserarius* 'he who receives and distributes the watchword from the commander.'

4. SURVIVAL OF THE LATINISMS. Many of the Latinisms have disappeared, some are still in use. Viscidi<sup>33</sup> calculated that from a total of 2900 Greek Latinisms (which include derivatives) 300 remained in Modern Greek. The more popular a word, the better its chances for resistance. The vitality of the Latinisms can be observed in three linguistic contexts: the movement of tenth-century purism, the mediation of Byzantine Latinisms to the Balkanic languages, and the general conservatism inherent in language.

<sup>32</sup> Text: Vogt, II, 112–68. Interpretations: Vogt, *Commentaire*, II, 114–77, and "L'hippodrome de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, 10 (1935), 471–88; R. Guiland, "Études sur l'hippodrome de Byzance," *Byzantinoslavica*, 23 (1962), 203–26, also in *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, I, Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten, 37 (1969), 556–72.

<sup>33</sup> Viscidi, *Prestiti*, 58.

A. Tenth-century Purism: The Hellenizing reaction against foreignism dominated the so-called Metaphrastic redaction of the older hagiographic literature.<sup>34</sup> Symeon Logothetes, known as Metaphrastes, "the Adapter," probably one of the scholars around Constantine Porphyrogenitus, revised the hagiographic texts in the classical spirit.<sup>35</sup> The popular old martyrologies, legends, and vitae contained numerous Latinisms: the Metaphrast tried to replace them with Hellenisms. The experiment in the de-Latinization also encompassed the terminologies of administration, communications, the army, and public and private life.

Examples: *quaestionarius* 'henchman' → κοιαιστιονάριος, replaced by δήμιος. – *scrinium* 'box for documents,' → σκρίνιον plur. σκρίνια, also 'dossier,' replaced by γεγραμμένα, plur. 'things written.' – Late Lat. *caballarius* 'horseman' → καβαλλάριος, replaced by ιππεύς. – *palatium* 'imperial palace' → παλάτιον, replaced by τὰ ἀνάκτορα or τὰ βασίλεια. – *arena* 'stage in the theatre' → ἀρήνα, replaced by θέατρον or στάδιον. – *armarium* 'cabinet, cupboard' → ἀρμάριον, replaced by σκεῦος.

The Greek substitutes were taken from the classical language and from the contemporary speech of the educated. Interestingly, the lexicon of this monastic literature displayed a correlation between the density of Latinisms and the distance of the area of a text's origin from the capital: the closer to the Polis, to Constantinople, the fewer the Latin elements. Thus, in the Byzantine passions, the Latinisms are most abundant in those from Syria, then, in reduced number, in those from Egypt and Armenia; still rarer in Asia Minor, and rarest in Constantinople. The implications of the geographical distribution are in accord with the sociological aspect of the Latin superstratum: anti-Latinistic purism was a movement of the upper levels of society; the Latin-studded terminology of everyday life which filtered down into folk literature had taken root in the speech of the masses and of the remote provinces and showed a strong resistance, surviving, to a large degree, the end of the Empire. Yet, the fad of weeding them out was not radical, a fifth were allowed to stay. Zilliacus suggests a few causes of their retention: ingrained use in the jargon of officialdom (πατρικίος 'patrician' ← *patricius*); ignorance of Latin provenience (κόμης 'official at court

<sup>34</sup> H. Zilliacus, "Das lateinische Lehnwort in der griechischen Hagiographie," *BZ*, 37 (1937), 302–44.

<sup>35</sup> H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, HAW, 12: *Byz. Hdbch.*, II:1 (Munich, 1959), 571–75.

or in administration' ← *comes*); nativization into the Greek lexicon (μόδιος 'peck' ← *modius*, and the names of the months).

In certain ways the Metaphrastic endeavors are reminiscent of the puristic attempts by ancient and medieval grammarians and glossarists to correct linguistic habits which they disliked: in trying to suppress them they were forced to document the living usage.

**B. Balkanic Expansion:** Many Greek Latinisms were transmitted by Byzantium to the languages within the sphere of its influence, and this spread evidenced the vitality of the respective lexemes in Greek, at least for the period of their radiation. Here, their expansion into the Balkanic languages is considered.<sup>36</sup> The high point of the Byzantine influence on Serbian was from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, on Rumanian from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century; Hellenisms in Albanian are difficult to date because no early texts

are available. The Byzantine Latinisms which reach Rumanian presuppose, as do many Byzantinisms in that language, an intermediate South Slavic stage. It is not always easy to distinguish between a word that has survived directly from Balkanic Latin and a Latinism which reached the Balkanic languages through Byzantine mediation. The criteria of an intermediate Byzantine stage for the Balkanic Latinisms are phonological, semantic, and geographical. The Balkanic Hellenisms of Latin origin cover the semantic fields of Church, public life, private life, and war and navigation.

Examples: (i) Church (monastery, offices, garb): *candēla* 'waxlight, tallow candle' → Byz. κανδήλα 'lamp in the church' → OSerb. *kanđilo* 'lamp hanging in front of icons,' Bulg. *kandilo*, Rum. *candelă*, Alban. *kandile*. — Eccles. Lat. *templum* 'church' → Byz. τέμπλον / τέμβλον 'church; iconostasis in the Greek church' → OSerb. *temblo*, S.-Cr. (Wojwodina) *tèmplo* 'iconostasis,' Rum. *tâmplă*, Alban. *temblë*. — *rasum* 'short-napped cloth' → Byz. ῥάσον 'crude wool cloth, worn esp. by monks' → OSerb. Bulg. *rasa*, Rum. *rasă*, Alban. *rasë*. (ii) Public life (administration, commerce): *primicērius* 'the first in a group; chief of a government office' → Byz. προϊμκήρι(ο)ς, then, under influence of κύριος 'lord,' προϊμ-κύρι(ο)ς → OSerb. \**primičur* 'head, chief' / *primikjur* 'village elder,' Alban. *përmik'ur*. — *commercium* 'trade, right to import' → Byz. κουμέριον 'customs' → OSerb. *kumerik* 'impost, customs duty, customs office,' Slavo-Rum. *kumerkū*, Alban. *kumerq* / *kurmeq*, Turk. *gümruk* → OSerb. *gumruk*, S.-Cr. *gjumruk*, Bulg. *gumruk*. — *asper* 'unpolished, i.e., newly-minted coin,' in elliptic use *asperum*, is borrowed by Byzantine Greek as ἄσπρον 'new, i.e., white (silver) coin' and radiates to OSerb. *aspra*, S.-Cr. *āspra* / *jāspira*, Bulg. *āspra*, Rum. *aspru*, Alban. *aspër*, Turk. *aspre*, with meanings oscillating between a specific coin and money in general. (iii) Private life (house, cooking, clothing): *cellarium* 'larder' → Byz. κελλάριον → S.-Cr. *ćeral* (with metathesis), Rum. *chelar*, Turk. *kiler* → S.-Cr. *kiljer*, Bulg. *kiler*, Rum. *chiler*. — *tubulus* 'small tube' → Byz. τοῦβλον, with the secondary var. \*τοῦγλον 'tubular tile,' then 'tile' → Alban. *tuvlë*, S.-Cr. *túgla*, Bulg. and Turk. *tugla*. — *offella* 'morsel' → Byz. ὀφέλλον (with retention of the Latin diminutiveness) → Mod. Grk. φελλί 'slice' → O Serb. *felija*, Bulg. *filija*, Rum. *felie*, Alban. *felë* ['cake'], Turk. (Anatolia) *feli*. (iv) Warfare and navigation: *clausura* 'lock, defile' → Byz. κλεισοῦρα 'narrow pass' (influenced by κλείω 'to close') → OSerb. East S.-Cr. Bulg. *klisura*, Alban. *klisyrë*. — *cors* / *cortem* 'enclosure' → Byz. κόρτη ('imperial) tent'

<sup>36</sup> P. Skok was the first to identify the problem: "Byzance comme centre d'irradiation pour les mots latins des langues balkaniques," *Byzantion*, 6 (1931), 371–78. A recent survey: H. Mihaescu, "Byzance—foyer du rayonnement de la culture romaine et de la langue latine dans le sud-est de l'Europe," *Βυζαντινά*, Annual Review of the Center for Byzantine Studies of the School of Philosophy, University of Thessaloniki, 6 (1974), 215–26. Numerous hints are found in lexicological studies of the individual languages, above all in the investigations of Gustav Meyer, a trail-blazer in the area of Balkanic word history: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache* (Strasbourg, 1891); *Türkische Studien*, I: *Die griechischen und romanischen Bestandtheile im Wortschatze des Osmanisch-Türkischen*, SBWien, Philos.-hist. Kl., 128 (1893); *Neugriechische Studien*, III: *Die lateinischen Lehnwörter im Neugriechischen*, SBWien, Philos.-hist. Kl., 132 (1895). For general Slavic: E. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, A–Mor (<sup>2</sup>Heidelberg, 1924). For Serbo-Croatian: M. Vasmer, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen* (Abh. Berlin, 1944:3); I. Popović, "Les emprunts linguistiques du néogrec et grec moyen en serbo-croate contemporain," *Srpska Akademija Nauka: Zbornik Radova Vizantoloski Institut*, 2 (1953), 199–233 (with French résumé, 234–37), and "Le problème de la chronologie des emprunts byzantins et néogrecs en serbo-croate," *op.cit.*, 3 (1955), 117–56 (with French résumé, 156–157). For Bulgarian: R. Bernard, "Mots grecs en Bulgare," *Soc.Ling.Paris:Bull.*, 44:1 (1948), 99–115 (with subsection "Mots d'origine latine," 99–106); N. P. Andriotes, *Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς βουλγαρικῆς γλώσσας* (The Greek elements of the Bulgarian language), *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ θρακοῦ λαογραφικοῦ γλωσσικοῦ θησαυροῦ*, 17 (1952), 33–100, esp. 82–83. Rumanian: A. Cioranescu, *Dictionario etimológico rumano* (hereafter *Dicc.etim.rumano*), Universidad de La Laguna: Biblioteca Filológica (Tenerife–Madrid, 1966); H. Mihaescu, *Influența grecească asupra limbii române* (hereafter *Influența grecească*) (Bucharest, 1966), with two versions in French: "L'influence byzantino-slave en roumain au XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, 12 (1967), 489–505, and "L'influence byzantino-slave en roumain au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *op.cit.*, 13 (1968), 11–27. Albanian: E. Çabej, "Zur Charakteristik der lateinischen Lehnwörter im Albanischen," *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, 7 (1962), 184–86. Turkish: A. Tietze, "Griechische Lehnwörter im anatolischen Türkisch," *Oriens*, 8 (1955), 204–57.

→ Rum. *cort* 'tent' and in the Rumanian dialect of Transylvania 'umbrella.' – *flammula* 'pennant' → Byz. φλάμουλον / φλάμουρον → Rum. *flamură*, Alban. *flamur*; Byz. φλάμουρον, secondarily φλάμπουρον → Alban. *fljambur*. – *saburra* 'ballast' → Byz. σαβούρα → Rum. *savură*, Alban. *savurë*, and Turk. *safra*.

C. The Modern Greek Evidence: From early on, Byzantine Romanism developed a characteristic dichotomic stratification: the mass of borrowings entered on the level of officialdom and much filtered down to the level of the common man. The same two forces of officialdom and familiarity contributed to the preservation of Latinisms long beyond the end of the Empire;<sup>37</sup> the conservatism of institutions and the conservatism of provincial life kept many Latinisms alive into modern times. Roughly one-tenth of the borrowings were still in use in the nineteenth century; some survive in the milieu of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the monastic center of Mount Athos, with their traditional ecclesiastic terminology; many are found in the marginal dialects, in particular that of Pontus.<sup>38</sup> In a comparable way, by the tenth century the varieties far from the capital had been inclined toward a retention of their Latinity.

In the following, typical examples of only such Latinisms of the modern language (whether standard or dialect) will be listed whose presence can be ascertained through the papyri for the Byzantine spoken in Egypt in the sixth century.<sup>39</sup> (i) Administration and law: *officialis* 'government official' → Byz. ὀφφικιάλιος → Mod. Grk. ὀφφικιάλος, commonly used into the nineteenth century, now obsolete; 'official in the Patriarchate of Constantinople.' – *domesticus* 'member of the household or entourage' → Byz. δομεστικός / δομέστικος / δομέστιχος, name of various kinds of officials, also

'precentor' → Mod. Grk. (Constantinople) δεμέστιχος 'subcantor in the Patriarchate.' – *defendo* 'defend' → Byz. δηφενδεύω and (with adaptation to prefix δια- and αὐθέντης / ἀφέντης 'master') διαφεντεύω / διαφεντεύω → Mod. Grk. διαφεντεύω. (ii) Army: *caballarius* 'horseman' → Byz. καβαλλάριος / καβαλλάρης → Mod. Grk. καβαλλάρης. – *contubernalis* / *contubernarius* 'tent-mate' → Byz. κοντουβερνάλιος / κοντουβερνάριος → Mod. Grk. (Naxos) κουντουβερνάλις / κουντουνεβγάρις 'tenant on a farm (in his relation to the landlord).' – *castrum* 'fortress' → Byz. κάστρον → Mod. Grk. κάστρο. (iii) Economy: *pactum* 'contract' → Byz. πάκτον 'contract; rent, fee farm' → Mod. Grk. (Cephalonia) πάκτο / πάχτο 'rent for a farm,' (Chios) πάχτος m., (Cyprus) id. n. 'rent.' – *diarium* 'daily ration' → Byz. διάριον 'daily ration, daily wage' → Mod. Grk. (Pontus) δάρ' 'daily ration, portion of food' with δαρίζω 'to share out food, to give away.' – *peculium* 'private possession (e.g., of the slave)' → Byz. πεκούλιον → Mod. Grk. (Cephalonia) πεκούλι 'small share of the raisin harvest given to children, laborers, and servants,' (Pontus) πεκούλ' 'private property.' – *campāna* 'steelyard' → Byz. κάμπανος / καμπανός / καμπανόν → Mod. Grk. (Crete) κάμπανο / καμπανός, (Icaria) καπανός. (iv) Trades: Lat. *manceps* 'leaseholder, baker' → Byz. μάγκιψ 'baker' → Mod. Grk. (Athos) μάγκιπας 'monk who prepares the dough,' (Thrace) 'baker and seller of bread,' (Cyprus, Rhodes) μάντζιπας 'baker.' – *burdonarius* 'muleteer' → Byz. βουρδωνάριος → Mod. Grk. βουρδουνάρις / βορδωνάρις (widely spread in ecclesiastic use) 'monk or servant of a monastery performing the duties of a muleteer,' (Rhodes) epithet of a stupid monk, (Crete, Tenos) 'lout, dunce,' (Cyprus) βορτωνάρος 'groom.' – *cellarius* 'keeper of a larder or cellar' → Byz. κελλάριος → Mod. Grk. (eccles.) κελλάρης 'caretaker of a monastery's provisions.' (v) The settlement: *hospitium* 'lodging' → Byz. ὀσπίτιον 'dwelling, house' → Mod. Grk. (Pontus) ὀσπί(τιν), (stand.) σπίτι 'house.' – *horreum* 'granary' → Byz. ὄρριον / ὠρεῖον → Mod. Grk. (Athos) οὐρρειο / οὐρρειός, (Kalymnos) ὠρρειός 'id.,' (Karpathos) ὄρρειός / ῥεῖος 'cellar, pit.' – *stabulum* 'stable' → Byz. στάβλον / στάβλος → Mod. Grk. στάβλος. (vi) Clothing: *camisia* 'shirt (of soldiers?)' → Byz. καμίσιον → Mod. Grk. (Pontus) καμίσ(ιν) 'shirt, under-jacket'; the Byz. derivative ὑποκαμίσιον / ὑποκάμισον 'under-jacket' → Mod. Grk. πουκάμισο 'shirt.' – *caracalla* 'long-hooded tunic' via καράκαλλον → Byz. der. καρακάλλιον 'cap,' καρκάλι(ο)ν 'shroud, long garment' → Mod. Grk. (Siphnos, Sikinos) κα-

<sup>37</sup> Triantaphyllidès, "Lexique," 276–77.

<sup>38</sup> N. Andriotis, *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten*, Schriften der Balkankommission: Linguistische Abteilung, 22 (Vienna, 1974), 9–10. H. and R. Kahane, "Zum Gräkanischen," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 94 (1978), 88–89.

<sup>39</sup> The basic study on the Latin relics in the modern Greek dialects by G. Meyer, *Neugriechische Studien*, III. Many surviving correspondences of the Byzantine Kulturwörter in the studies by Koukoules, above all Βίος and Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ λαογραφικά (Folklore in Eustathius of Thessalonike) (Athens, 1950). For Latin relics in the dialects: Andriotis, *Archaismen*. For Cyprus: K. Chatziioannou, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσαιωνικῇ καὶ νεωτέρῃ Κυπριακῇ ξένων γλωσσικῶν στοιχείων* (The foreign elements in Medieval and Modern Cypriot) (hereafter *Περὶ τῶν . . . ξένων στοιχείων*), TFBByzNgPhil, 18 (Athens, 1936), 35–57. The distribution of a Latin lexeme in the Demotic and dialects is extensively described in the *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς*, in course of publication at the Academy of Athens since 1933; we quote also unpublished materials of the Dictionary Archives.

ρακάλλιν 'shirt-like garment.' – *caliga* 'boot' via \*κάλιγα / κάλικά → Byz. der. καλίγιον 'shoe' → Mod. Grk. καλίγι, with καλίγια n. pl. (Epirus) 'wooden shoes,' (Cephalonia) 'claws of sheep.'

### III. THE GALLICISMS

In 1204 the Frankish, i.e., the Western, Crusaders conquered Constantinople and occupied, in an early form of colonization, wide areas of the Eastern Empire. The mainland, in particular Peloponnesus, and Cyprus fell under the Frankish knights and feudal lords, above all French; the linguistic medium of this event was Gallo-Romance (French and Provençal). The coasts and the islands became Venetian possessions, with some Genoese exceptions; the superstratum was Italian, mainly Venetian.<sup>40</sup> A separation between these two constituents of Romance influence is often not easy: partly lexemes of the two branches may overlap; partly the phonological differences among them levelled off in the process of their adaptation to Greek. The following reconstruction of the cultural impact of French feudalism by means of *kulturwörter* is based on essentially three sources with a chance-occurring of items: a versified chronicle, a chronicle in prose, and a lawbook. The vitality of the acculturation can be measured either synchronically, in terms of the then fashionable interlingua, or diachronically, in terms of lexicological survival.

The French impact on medieval Greece (quite different from that on modern Greece, which encompassed the upper and middle classes of the Balkanic urban centers) was concentrated on the castle and the court, and it unfolded in two areas: in Morea (the medieval name of NW Peloponnesus) and on Cyprus.

1. THE FEUDALISM OF MOREA. The French conquest of Morea imposed the culture of Western chivalry on the Byzantine population. The *Chronicle of Morea*, which originated during the first half of the fourteenth century and whose extant Greek version (MS H) goes back to the 1380s, retells, in a poeticized form, the history of the Peloponnesus under the Franks, up to the end of the thirteenth

century, weaving the adopted French terminology of feudalism into its narration.<sup>41</sup> This makes it a prime source of the "Franco-Greek argot of the crusader states."<sup>42</sup> As to linguistic background, Topping diagnoses the author as "certainly bilingual, though not entirely a master of French."<sup>43</sup>

(i) Key terms of feudalism: φτε ← *fié* 'fief.' – όμάντζο ← *omage* 'homage of a liegeman, fief.' – όβο-λεύω ← *reveler* 'to rebel' (besides Ital. *arrovellare*). – προβελέντζι ← *privilege*. – κουρτεσία ← *co(u)rtoisie* (beside Ital. *cortesia*). (ii) Titles and offices: μισιρ, used before the name ← *misire*. – ντάμα ← *dame* and μαντάμα ← *madame*, used before the name. – λίζιος ← (*ome*) *lige* (beside Med.Lat. *homo ligius*) 'liege.' – κιβιτάνος 'castellan' ← Norman *kevetaigne*/Picard *kievetaine*, dial. vars. of OFr. *chevetaigne* 'headman.' – τσαμπρελιάνος 'chamberlain' ← *chambrelain*. (iii) Warfare: κουγκέστα ← *conquiste*. – τρέβα ← *trieveltreve* 'truce'; τρέβα is still used in Maina in regard to family feuds.<sup>44</sup> – σέντζο ← *sege* 'siege.' – άμαντίζω 'to make up for a military setback' ← *amender* 'to make amends.' – τριπουτσέτο ← *trebuchet* 'engine designed to hurl stones.' (iv) Calques: There are various loan translations, to which Spadaro<sup>45</sup> and Jeffreys<sup>46</sup> draw attention. The following examples hint at the contemporary "feudalization" of existing Greek lexemes: *costumes*, the customs of Frankish society imposed as law on the subjects of Morea, ~ συνήθεια n.pl., lit. 'habits, customs.' – *fief* ~

<sup>41</sup>Text: P. Kalonaros, *Tò Xρονικόν τοῦ Μορέως* (Athens, 1940); Kalonaros' text follows John Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea* (London, 1904; rpr. Groningen, 1967). Modern translation: H. E. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, 69 (New York, 1964). Origin: H.-G. Beck, *Byzantinische Volksliteratur* (hereafter *Volksliteratur*), HAW: Byz. Hdbch., II:3 (Munich, 1971), 158; P. Topping, "Co-existence of Greeks and Latins in Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete" (hereafter "Co-existence"), XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines: Rapports et co-rapports, I, Histoire (Athens, 1976), 3–23, with bibl. in note 19 (rpr. in P. Topping, *Studies on Latin Greece, A.D. 1205–1715* [London, 1977], no. XI); M. J. Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of Morea: Priority of the Greek Version" (hereafter "Chronicle of Morea"), BZ, 68 (1975), 304–58. Phonology: Triantaphyllidis, *Lehnwörter, passim*, with a list of Gallicisms 142–44; E. Stüwe, *Die französischen Lehnwörter und Namen in der mittellgriechischen Chronik von Morea*, Diss. (Rostock, 1919). Lexicology: G. Spadaro, "Studi introduttivi alla Cronaca di Morea: III. Italianismi e francesismi" (hereafter "Cronaca di Morea"), *Siculorum Gymnasium*, 14 (Catania, 1961), 1–70. Law: P. I. Zepos, *Tò δίκαιον εις τὸ Χρονικόν τοῦ Μορέως* (The Law in the Chronicle of Morea). Έπ. Έτ.Βυζ.Σπ., 18 (1948), 202–20.

<sup>42</sup>Jeffreys, "Chronicle of Morea," 309.

<sup>43</sup>Topping, "Co-existence," 9.

<sup>44</sup>D. B. Bagiakkakos, Συμβολή εις την μελέτην της δημόδους νομικής όρολογίας (Contribution to the Study of Demotic legal terminology), in *Xenion: Festschrift für Pan. J. Zepos*, III (Athens-Freiburg/Br.-Köln, 1973), 529–30.

<sup>45</sup>Spadaro, "Cronaca di Morea," 41–55.

<sup>46</sup>Jeffreys, "Chronicle of Morea," 309–10, 312–13.

<sup>40</sup>The Demotic lexicon of Francocracy (and Venetocracy) has to be reconstituted from scattered literary and historiographic sources. A large-scale and systematic compilation is now in progress: E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημόδους γραμματείας, 1100–1669* (Lexicon of the Medieval Greek Demotic Literature, 1100–1669) (Thessalonike, 1969-). The entries in Kriaras' *Λεξικό* contain additional information about the history of a word and its survival in the modern dialects.

πρόνοια 'provision,' then 'estate granted on trust and in usufruct,' a Byzantine institution comparable to and becoming identical with the Western fief.<sup>47</sup> – *ome* 'man,' a lexeme occurring variously in the feudalistic terminology (so elliptic for *ome lige* 'liege man'), ~ ἀνθρωπος 'man';<sup>48</sup> *ome* is also the root morpheme of the derivative *omage*, and the latter becomes the model of Grk. ἀνθρωπέα 'homage,' the acknowledgment of vassalage. – OFr. *se desvestir*, lit. 'to undress,' then 'to divest oneself' (in feudalistic terminology the antonym of *invest* [in the *Chronicle*, ὀρεβσιτίζω ← OFr. *revestir* 'to enfeoff']) ~ ἐκδύνομαι 'to undress' and 'to divest oneself.' – *seigneur naturel* 'the natural, i.e., the legal lord' ~ φυσικὸς ἀφέντης.<sup>49</sup>

2. THE COURT OF CYPRUS. The second center of massive French influence, the Byzantine island of Cyprus, fell to the Westerners by the end of the twelfth century, in part to the Italian maritime republics, Genoa and Venice; in part to the French house of the Lusignans. The following reconstruction of the Frankish impact on Cyprus<sup>50</sup> is based on two sources, a chronicle and a lawbook.

**A. Makhairas' *Recital*:** The history of the age of the Lusignans was described, in minute detail, by a Greek historian, Leontios Makhairas.<sup>51</sup> The author was born around 1380. His style is typical of

the language spoken on Cyprus in the late Byzantine period. From the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century (the span of time on which the chronicle centers), French was the language at court and the official language of administration; it was the language of the feudal society which had settled on Cyprus after the end of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and the loss of the Holy Land. The French of the ruling class blended with the regional Greek. This process lasted up to the last phase of the Lusignan dynasty, around the end of the fifteenth century, when Venice took possession of the island and the Venetian influence replaced the French.

In the same way as the Gallicisms of Morea, but in greater detail and with more subtle nuances, the Cypriote Gallicisms transmit the image of the Frankish feudal society in the Byzantine colonies.

(i) The feudal value system. Positive and negative values were taken over. Positive concepts: βαλεντίζα ← *vallentise* 'bravery.' – γράσα ← *grace* 'favor.' – ἀλεγρέσα ← OFr. *alegrece* / Prov. *alegreza* 'cheerfulness.' – ἀπλαζίριον ← OFr. *plaisir* / Prov. *plazir* 'pleasure.' – κουντουναζιοῦ(ν) (recorded in the plur. κουντουναζιοῦδες) ← *condonacion* 'condonation.' Negative concepts: δεσδένιον ← *desdeing* 'disdain, anger.' – λουξουρία ← *luxurie* 'sensuality.' – δισπλαζίριον ← OFr. *desplaisir* / Prov. *\*desplazir* [matching *plazir* 'pleasure'] 'displeasure.' – δισφαιμάζω ← *disfamer* 'defame, slander.' – προτεστιάζω ← *protester* (in feudal society "protest" being often a negatively loaded concept [as in Makhairas, I, 552 Dawkins]). (ii) Public life. The terminologies of punishment and taxes are well represented: ἀρέστα 'accusation' ← *arest* 'capture.' – πιλλιρή ← *pilori*. – κιλιοῦρης ← *coilleor* 'taxgatherer.' – ταλία ← *taille* 'tax.' – καππέλλες pl. ← *gabelle* 'impost.' (iii) Private life. Characteristic features of castle and riding: τζάμπρα 'chamber, often the King's room' ← *chambre*. – τζιμνία ← *cheminee* 'fireplace.' – τζάριον 'litter' ← *chaiere* 'armchair.' – περρούνιν ← *perron* 'stoneblock for mounting the horse.' – πανέλλιν ← *panel* (of a saddle). (iv) Warfare. The art of war, well developed in the West in the context of chivalric customs, brought many Things and Words to the Byzantine colonies: τζούστα ← *jouste* 'joust.' – κουφανός ← *confanon* / *gonfanon* 'banner.' – κορσέριν ← *corsier* 'charger.' – παφέζιν ← OFr. *pavaiz* / Prov. *paves* 'large shield.' – πασινέτιν ← *bassinet* 'steel helmet.' (v) Roman Catholicism. The image which the Crusaders' faith left in the conquered Byzantine provinces comes to life with its borrowed terminology: φρέρης 'brother of Rhodes or of the Hospital,' with the ad-

<sup>47</sup>G. Ostrogorskij, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae: Subsidia, I (Brussels, 1954), 55–61; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1968), 425; D. Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *TM*, 2 (1967), 421–81.

<sup>48</sup>Ἀνθρωπος as a term of the Byzantine social system of dependence appears on seals as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries (Kriaras, Λεξικό, s.v.).

<sup>49</sup>G. Kechagioglou, Συμπληρωματικά γιὰ τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως (Addenda to the Chronicle of Morea), *Ἑλληνικά*, 28 (1975), 420–22, modifies his earlier objections expressed in Δυσκολίες στὸ κείμενο τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τοῦ Μορέως (Textual problems in the Chronicle of Morea), *Ἑλληνικά*, 27 (1974), 262.

<sup>50</sup>Cypriote Gallicisms: G. Meyer, "Romanische Wörter im kyprischen Mittelgriechisch," *Jb. für romanische und englische Sprache und Litteratur*, 15 (1876), 33–56; S. Menardos, Γαλλικαὶ μεσαιωνικαὶ λέξεις ἐν Κύπρῳ (Medieval French lexemes in Cyprus), *Ἀθηνά*, 12 (1900), 360–84; M. L. Dendias, Περί τῶν ἐν τῇ Κυπριακῇ ὁμιλίᾳ ἐκ τῆς ἰταλικῆς καὶ γαλλικῆς (On verbs of French and Italian provenience in the dialect of Cyprus), *Ἀθηνά*, 36 (1925), 142–65; Chatziioannou, Περί τῶν . . . ξένων στοιχείων, 63–119, with two reviews doubting Chatziioannou's emphasis on the Provençal contribution: R. M. Dawkins, *BNJbb*, 13 (1936–37), 104–9; M. Kriaras, *BZ*, 37 (1937), 394–99.

<sup>51</sup>Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus* entitled 'Chronicle', ed. R. M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford 1932), with discussion of the borrowings in II, 38–40 and in the Glossary II, 235–76. Two earlier studies by the same author: "Notes on the Vocabulary of the Cypriote Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas," *BNJbb*, 3 (1922), 137–55, and "The Vocabulary of the Mediaeval Cypriot Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1925–30 (London, 1931), 300–30.



dress form φρέ ← *frere* 'friar.' – κλόστριν ← *clostre* 'cloister.' – σμιντήριν ← *cimetre* 'graveyard,' with the widely used nasal var. *cimentere*. – πασάντζιν ← *passage* 'voyage to the Holy Land.' – τάμε ό Θεός, half borrowed, half calqued ← *damedieu* 'Lord God.'

**B. The Assizes:** One facet of Frankish civilization prominently developed in the *Oriens latinus* was feudal law. The usages and customs, which were embodied in the civil and criminal law practiced in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, were compiled, probably around the end of the twelfth century, in the *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*,<sup>52</sup> and this French redaction was translated for the benefit of the Kingdom of Cyprus into the Greek of Cyprus, in the fourteenth century, possibly somewhat earlier.<sup>53</sup> The *Assises of Jerusalem* have been characterized as the embodiment of "ideal feudalism."<sup>54</sup> The Cypriote version, by using the Frankish legalisms within a Greek framework, puts the coming of the new era in sharp relief: just as the Latinisms permeated Byzantine law revealing its Roman roots so the feudalistic terminology documents the process of Westernization.

In the following examples the Greek Gallicisms of the Cypriote *Assises* are equated, whenever possible, with their correspondence in the French *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*. (i) The legal system: άσίζα ← *assise* 'decree (established in a session of the feudal lords),' with the plur. *assises* 'compilation of the decrees and customs representing the feudal law of the Franks in the *Oriens latinus*.' – κουστούμιν ← *coutume* 'manner, custom.' – πρόβα in πόλεμος διὰ πρόβα 'judicial combat as proof of innocence' ← *prove* (*Assises* var. *preuve*) 'proof.' – τζανπιούνης ← *champion* 'champion, defender in a judicial com-

bat.' – τζουτζα ← *juise* 'ordeal.' (ii) Civil law: τζαλούντζε ← *chalunge* 'challenge, objection.' – δουέριν / τουέριν ← *douaire* 'estate left to the widow, dowry.' – (ά)μαντιάζω / μεντιάζω ← *amender* 'make amends.' – κιτιάζω ← *aquiter* 'to release from guaranty, to pay for somebody else.' – άβαβοέ ← *\*avantvoeu* 'earnest money.' (iii) Criminal law: μπαρατούρης ← *baratëor* 'swindler.' – ζηνιάζω ← *engignier* 'to cheat.' – ένταλιασής 'counterfeiter,' a nomen agentis derived from \*ένταλιάζω ← *entaillier* 'to engrave,' then 'to counterfeit.' – κουντενιασμένος 'imprisoned,' p.p. of \*κουντενιάζω 'to imprison' ← *contenir* 'to contain.' – πηντέλιν 'blindfold of a convict, who is led, amidst mockery, to the gallows' ← *bendel* 'bandage around the forehead and the head.'

3. FRENCH TOPONYMS. Just as the key lexemes of the Frankish life style so the toponyms both in Morea and on Cyprus reflect the Feudalistic-Catholic culture imposed on the colonies.<sup>55</sup> Many of them survive.

**A. Morea:**<sup>56</sup> (i) Toponyms of French provenience. These refer, above all, to castles and fiefs. The *Chronicle of Morea* provides the background. Typically, some were based on family names: the aristocratic family *Saint-Omer*, Hellenized as Σαιν Όμέρ, was uprooted through the Catalan conquest of Attica and Boeotia and settled in Morea, where Nicolas III de Saint-Omer built after 1311 near Patras a stronghold in the vicinity of the (still existing) village Σανταμέρι. – The *Dramelay* family, whose name was Hellenized to Τρεμουλās, was invested with a fief, as reported in the *Chronicle of Morea*, and a stronghold and mountain in E. Achaia, near Kalavryta, called Τρεμουλās, preserves the name. (ii) Toponyms based on appellatives: *Mont Escové* 'bald mountain' (from OFr. *escover* 'to sweep clear, to bare') designated a mountain and a fortress (built c. 1205) near Acrocorinthus; the French name, Hellenized as Μούντ Έσκουβέ, was secondarily assimilated to

<sup>52</sup> French text: Comte A. A. Beugnot, ed., *Assises de Jérusalem, II: Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Lois, II (Paris, 1843).

<sup>53</sup> Greek text: K. N. Sathas, ed., 'Άσίζαι του βασιλείου των Ιεροσολύμων και της Κύπρου (Assises of the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus), Μεσαιωνική βιβλιοθήκη, VI (Venice-Paris, 1877). Dating through linguistic evidence: K. Hadjioannou, "The Beginning of the Modern Greek Dialect as it Appears in the Greek Text of the Assises, in the 13th Century A.D.," in *Communications et Rapports du Premier Congrès international de dialectologie générale*, Travaux publiés par le Centre international de dialectologie générale de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 7 (Louvain, 1964), 297. Law: P. I. Zepos, Τό δίκαιον εις τας ελληνικάς Άσίζας της Κύπρου (The law in the Greek Assises of Cyprus), Έπ. Έτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 25 (1955), 306–330; Pieler, "Rechtsliteratur," in Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, II, 478; J. Richard, "Le droit et les institutions franques dans le Royaume de Chypre," in *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines: Rapports et co-rapports, V, Chypre dans le monde byzantin* (Athens, 1976), 3–20.

<sup>54</sup> J. L. LaMonte, "Three Questions concerning the Assises de Jérusalem," *Byzantina Metabyzantina*, 1 (New York, 1946), 201–4.

<sup>55</sup> On Frankish toponyms: R. M. Dawkins, "The Place-Names of Later Greece," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1933 (London, 1934), 23–31; J. Longnon, "Les noms de lieu de la Grèce franque," *J Sav* (July–September 1960), 97–110; O. Markl, *Ortsnamen Griechenlands in "fränkischer" Zeit*, Byzantina Vindobonensia, 1 (Graz-Köln, 1966). Bibliography: D. B. Bagiakakos, Σχεδιασμα περι των τοπωνυμικών και ανθρωπωνυμικών σπουδών εν Ελλάδι, 1833–1962 (Outline of toponymic and anthroponymic studies in Greece, 1833–1962), Άθηνά, 66 (1962), 341–44.

<sup>56</sup> J. Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, École Pratique des Hautes Études-Sorbonne, VI<sup>e</sup> sect.: Documents et Recherches, 9 (Paris, 1969); A. Bon, *La Morée franque: recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (hereafter *Morée franque*), BEFAR, 213 (Paris, 1969).



πέντε σκούφιες 'five caps,' and Πεντεσκούφη is the name still in use. – OFr. *clarece* with its nasalized var. *clarence* 'clearness (of water)' stimulated the toponym Κλαρέντζα / Γλαρέντζα, to name the harbor of Andravida in Elis; it was constructed under Geoffroy I de Villehardouin (1210–18) and today is in ruins, close to the village Γλαρέντζα. – The military term, OFr. *passavant* [lit. 'march on'] 'fortress from which to conduct raids against the neighbors' was applied to the stronghold Πασσαβᾶς in Maina, built by Jean de Nully and now in decay. A semantic base *passavant* 'cheering on the battlefield' has also been suggested.<sup>57</sup>

**B. Cyprus:**<sup>58</sup> The placenames of French provenience preserved on Cyprus are somewhat more numerous than those in Morea. Various patterns evolve. (i) Toponyms based on family names. The *Lusignans*, the royal family which for three centuries dominated the island, were indigenously called Λαζανιάδες (so in Makhairas), and the village Λαζανιάς in the District Oreiné, where their scions probably owned estates, is called after them. – The aristocratic family of the *Plessie* gave its name to a village in the District Kerynia, documented in the French *Gestes des Chiprois* (13th–14th c.) as *Plaissie*, in a Venetian census (end of the 15th c.) as *casal Blessia*, and today, in ruins, known as Πλέσια. (ii) Toponyms based on religious terminology. One pattern consists of the morpheme *Saint(e)* plus hagionym, so *Saint Denis* → Σαντενί, fieldname in the District Morphou. – The toponym may echo religious orders: the Order of the Friars Minor, the *freres menors* and short *fré menors*, whose Cypriote *Abaie dous Fré Menors* is mentioned in 1468, must have locally been known as \*Φρέμινος and \*Φρέμναρος, as suggested by the fieldname Φρέναρος / Βρένναρος, in the District of Ammochostos, near a monastery of the Minorites. (iii) Toponyms based on appellatives. The appellatives may have been applied immediately by the Frankish settlers or have represented a borrowed term current in indigenous speech: OFr. *gastine* 'wasteland, desert' was borrowed as γαστίνα 'fallow land' (recorded in the *Assizes*) and turned into the name of a village in the District Messaria; the village is mentioned as *Casal Angastina* in a Venetian census of the end of the fifteenth century and is now called 'Αγκαστίνα. – OFr. *piler* 'pillar' was borrowed as πιλέριν (with the plur. πιλερία in Makhairas), and

this term, probably because it applied to a portico, became the toponym, Πιλέριν, referring to a Turkish settlement in ruins, in the District Kerynia.

**4. VITALITY OF THE GALLICISMS.** The French impact on Byzantine Greece weighed against the Latin and Italian was the least enduring. It represented the lexicon of a culture which exerted its influence on the Greek in a much more limited geographical area, essentially Morea and Cyprus, and for a far shorter stretch of time: by the end of the fifteenth century the French lifeline of supply and reenforcement had dried up. The institutions labelled by the Gallicisms were narrowly tied to their times and the designations faded away with the things. Yet, to determine the vitality of the Byzantine Gallicisms, particularly in a comparison of the two areas involved, a different course of assessment is called for: those of Morea must be embedded in their own times, whereas the Cypriote can still be judged on the basis of their survival into the present. Cyprus, both as an insular linguistic area and as one located at the margins of Greek speech, proved more conservative than Morea in the preservation of its medieval heritage.

**A. The Gallicisms of Morea in the Setting of the Feudalistic French Expansion:** The chivalric culture developing in Provence and northern France was a commodity of export, and with the customs went the words. The terminology of the Crusades filtering into the Greek of Morea was part (a fraction, to be sure) of a contemporary lexicon of international dimensions penetrating (above all) Italian, Catalan, Spanish, Middle English, and Middle High German.

We list, in the following, such examples of these languages as correspond to the Gallicisms of Morea mentioned above. (i) Keywords: OFr. *fié* → Byz. φέε; similarly the variant OFr. *fi(e)u* → Ital. *fio*, Catal. *feu*, MEng. *feu*; and (via Latinized *feudum*) Fr. *feude* → Ital. Span. *feudo*. – OFr. *omage* → Byz. δμάντζο (flanked by the calque ἀνθρωπέα), likewise → Ital. *omaggio*, MEng. *omage*; also Prov. *omenatge* → Catal. *homenatge*, Span. *homenaje*. – OFr. *privilege* → Byz. προβελέντζι, likewise → Eng. *privilege*, MHG *privilège*; also widely spread as a Latinism. – OFr. *co(u)rtoisie* → Byz. κουρτεσία, likewise → MEng. *courteisie*, MHG *kurtoisie*; and with the same French semantic overlay in this expression of chivalric ideals Ital. Catal. Span. *cortesia*. (ii) Titles and offices: OFr. *misire* → Byz. μισίρ, likewise → Ital. *misère*, Catal. *misser*; similarly, OFr. *messire* → Ital. *mesère*. – OFr. *dame* → Byz. ντάμα, likewise → Ital.

<sup>57</sup> Bon, *Morée franque*, 508–9.

<sup>58</sup> S. Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικὸν τῆς Κύπρου* (The toponyms of Cyprus), *Ἀθηνά*, 18 (1906), 315–421, with discussion of Frankish toponyms 402–14.

Catal. Span. *dama*, MEng. *dame*; and OFr. *madame* → Byz. *μαντάμα*, likewise → Ital. Catal. *madama*, MEng. *madam*. – OFr. (*ome*) *lige* (beside MLat. *homo ligius*) → Byz. *λίζιος*, likewise → Ital. Span. *ligio*, MEng. *lige*. – OFr. *chambrelain* → Byz. *τσαμπρελιάνος*, likewise OFr. *chamberlan* / *chamberlain* → Ital. *ciamberlano*, MEng. *chaumberlein*. (iii) Warfare: OFr. *tr(i)eve* → Byz. *τρέβα*, likewise → O Ital. *trieva* / *treva*, Catal. *treva*, MEng. *trieue*. – OFr. *amender* → Byz. *ἀμαντίζω*, likewise → MEng. *amenden*. – OFr. *trebuchet* → Byz. *τριπουτσέτο*, likewise → MEng. *trebuchet*; also Prov. *trabuquet* → Catal. *trabuquet*; and a short form, again in two variants: OFr. *trebuc* → MHG *triboc*, and OFr. Prov. *trabuc* → Ital. *trabucco*, Catal. *trabuc*, Span. *trabuco*.

**B. The Gallicisms and Provençalisms of Cyprus** Surviving in Popular Parlance: The Frankish relics in the dialect of Cyprus exemplify a frequent sociolinguistic process, the trickle-down to the common level, of lexemes borrowed on the upperstratum of society. The preservation of a word on the popular level may be taken as an indication (a vague one, to be sure) of a certain folksy appeal. The following selection of Gallicisms surviving in Cyprus includes only items that appeared in the three chief works of the Frankish literature written in Greek:<sup>59</sup> the *Assizes* [Ass.], the compendium of laws and customs, and the two fifteenth-century chronicles by Makhairas [Makh.] and Boustronios [Boust.],<sup>60</sup> respectively.<sup>61</sup>

(i) Frankish life style: OFr. *plaisir* / Prov. *plazir* 'pleasure' → Makh.Boust. *ἀπλαζίριον* → mod.dial. *πλαζίριον*. – OFr. *commanderie* 'office of the commander of an order' → Boust. *κομμενταρία* / *κουμμενταρία* 'id.' → mod.dial. *κουμανταρικά* 'name of a district of Cyprus and of a wine called after it.' – OFr. *reveler* 'to rebel' → Makh. *ῥεβελιάζω* 'id.' → mod.dial. *ῥεβελιάζω* 'to refuse.' – OFr. *rentes* 'revenues' → Makh.Boust. *ῥέντα* sing. / *ῥέντες* pl. 'revenues from fiefs or landed property' → mod.dial. *ῥέντα* 'vegetable garden, vegetables.' – OFr. *comande* 'goods in trust' → Ass. *κουμάντα* 'id.' → mod.dial. *κουμάντα* 'almonds as the stakes in card

games.' (ii) Daily life: OFr. *esprevier* 'baldachin over the bed' → Boust. *σπλιβέριον* 'bed curtain, mosquito net' → mod.dial. *σκληυβέριον* 'id.' – OFr. *chaiere* 'armchair' → Makh. *τζάριον* 'litter' → mod.dial. *τσαέρα* 'chair.' – OFr. *cimentere* 'graveyard' → Ass. Makh. *σιμιντήριον* 'id.' → mod.dial. *σιμιντήριον* 'wall around a graveyard, wall around an open space.' – OFr. *hanap* 'drinking vessel' → Boust. *χανάπην* → mod.dial. *χανάπιν*. – OFr. *chäane* / *chäeine* 'chain' → Ass. *τζαϊάνα* / Makh. *τζαϊνα* 'id.' → mod.dial. *τσαϊνα* 'chain as jewelry.'

#### IV. THE ITALIANISMS

The Italian influence differed from the French in kind and in extension. Until the end of the Byzantine Empire (and in many cases even beyond) most of the seabound areas of Greece, islands and coasts, became colonial possessions of Venice,<sup>62</sup> namely, the Ionian Islands, Morea, Crete, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, and Cyprus. Often Venice ruled through the medium of its illustrious families: under Marco Sanudo, e.g., the Dukedom of Naxos came into being, which comprised, in addition to Naxos, also Syros, Paros, Siphnos, Melos, Kimolos, Pholegandros, Sikinos, and Ios; Crete was heavily settled with Venetians; in Cyprus a foreign middle class developed, with quarters of its own, one of them Venetian and one Genoese; Chios, Lesbos, and Samos were Genoese possessions, since about the middle of the fourteenth century. In the Peloponnesus, Methone and Corone, the commercial centers of Messenia, came under Venice, followed by Nauplia and Navarino; and they remained in that state to the end of the fifteenth century. Euboea was, as was Butrinto in Epirus, a Venetian base, from the early Francocracy to the beginning of Turcocracy, with varying fortunes. All this led, obviously, to a massive infiltration of Italian and, in particular, Venetian lexemes into the Greek lexicon.<sup>63</sup>

One must assume that the Italian elements entered Byzantine Greek above all where the colonial rule of the Venetians and Genoese was of the longest duration and greatest intensity. This is corroborated by the geographical distribution of the linguistic relics which survived into our century, the

<sup>59</sup> S. Berand, "La littérature franque en Chypre (XII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)," *Κυπρ. Σπουδ.*, 40 (1976), 165–66.

<sup>60</sup> Georgios Boustronios, *Χρονικὸν Κύπρου, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, ed. K. N. Sathas, II (Venice, 1873), 411–543. Trans.: R. M. Dawkins, *The Chronicle of George Boustronios, 1456–1489*, Melbourne University: Cyprus Expedition, 2 (Melbourne, 1964).

<sup>61</sup> S. Menardos, *Γαλλικά . . . λέξεις*, Ἀθηνᾶ, 12 (1900), 360–84, was the first to draw attention to the problem. We follow Chatziioannou, *Περὶ τῶν . . . ξένων στοιχείων*, 63–119. Addenda concerning modern Cypriote: P. Xioutas, *Ξένα λέξεις στὴ γλῶσσά μας* (Foreign words in our language), *Κυπρ. Σπουδ.*, 1 (1937), 133–74.

<sup>62</sup> F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge: Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, BEFAR, 193 (Paris, 1959).

<sup>63</sup> Although Venetian origin of the borrowings is generally to be assumed, Venetian bases, in the listing of examples, are labelled as such only when the Venetian and the Italian variants display a marked difference.

Italianisms of the modern dialects. Six centers of the Italian influence in Byzantine times emerge from the isoglosses of these relics: 1. the Ionian Islands; 2. Crete; 3. the Cyclades; 4. Dodecanese and Cyprus; 5. the Micrasiatic islands, Samos, Chios, and Lesbos; 6. Southern Peloponnesus. These primary centers of reception became the foci of a secondary radiation of lexemes into the less Italianized areas. As to semantic fields, the Byzantine Italianisms, distinct from the aristocratic Gallisms, reflect a culture of the middle class, of commerce and technology, and, above all, of a sea-bound civilization.

Regarding the chronological delimitation of the Italian influence, it does not seem that borrowings on the colloquial level (as distinct from the Latinistic of the administrative jargon) entered Greek before the thirteenth century. The few terms which appear in the twelfth century and were considered as of Italian provenience by Meyer<sup>64</sup> and after him by Andriotes,<sup>65</sup> give cause for doubt. These pseudo-Italianisms, which are recorded in the so-called *Ptochoprodromiká*, the Beggar Poems, attributed to Theodoros Prodromos,<sup>66</sup> turn out to be, on the whole, rather Latin relics: ματσούκα 'club, cudgel' (*Prodr.* IV, 130a), indirectly dated for the tenth century by the derivative ματζούκιον, represents the widespread Balk.Lat. variant of VLat. *\*mat-teŭca*.<sup>67</sup> – τσούκκα 'pot' (*Prodr.* III, 187, 188; IV, 110), assured for the tenth century by the synonymous derivative τζυκάλι, belongs probably to the widespread pre-Ind.Eur. lexeme, *\*tjukka* 'pumpkin, gourd (bottle)'.<sup>68</sup> – σαπούνιν (*Prodr.* II, 37 MS H and III, 133) / σαπώνιν (*Prodr.* II, 37 MS G) continues, with other Balkanic variants, an older pattern σαπώνιον, the latter probably a derivative of the Micrasiatic Celtism σάπων, an offshoot of Gmc.

<sup>64</sup>G. Meyer, *Neugriechische Studien, IV: Die romanischen Lehnworte im Neugriechischen*, SBWien, Philos.-hist.Kl., 132:6 (1895), s.vv.

<sup>65</sup>N. P. Andriotes, 'Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής (Etymological dictionary of Modern Greek) (Thessalonike, 1967), s.vv.

<sup>66</sup>Text: eds. D.-C. Hesselring and H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, Verh. Amsterdam, Letterkunde, n.s., 11:1 (Amsterdam, 1910). Date: Parts of the poems are, probably, of the second half of the 12th century. The oldest extant MS of poems I, II, IV is of the late 13th or early 14th century; the earliest MSS of poem III are not earlier than the 14th century: Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 101–5; D. J. Georgacas, *Ichthyological Terms for the Sturgeon and Etymology of the International Terms Botargo, Caviar and Congeners*, Πραγματεία της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, 43 (Athens, 1978), 199–200; H. Eidenauer apud Georgacas, 200 note 354.

<sup>67</sup>A. Cioranescu, *Dicc.etim.rumano*, 492; Wartburg, *FEW*, VI:1, 515.

<sup>68</sup>J. Hubschmid apud Wartburg, *FEW*, XIII:2, 401.

*\*saipōn* 'soap'.<sup>69</sup> – κλότσος 'kick,' with the derivative κλωτσάτα 'Byz. game in which kicks are given' (*Prodr.* III, 295d), represents probably the eastern area of the widespread wordfamily *calx / calcem* 'kick'.<sup>70</sup> – ῥόκα 'distaff' (*Prodr.* I, 125; *Cyrilli Alexandrini Lexicon*, 12th c.<sup>71</sup>), the eastern offshoot of the wide area of Goth. *\*rukka*, came into Byz. Greek either directly from Gothic or was a Gothicism borrowed via VLat.<sup>72</sup> – κούφια 'headgear' (Eustathius, 12th c.) / σκούφια in the compound μυντλογα[ι]τανόσκουφος 'with an adorned cap' (*Prodr.* IV, 234), was derived by Koukoules from κοῦφος 'hollow,' thereby presupposing an intermediate stage κοῦφον 'pot' recorded since the third century; this suggestion would imply Byzantine origin of the (so far unexplained) Romance wordfamily of Ital. (*s*)*cuffia*, OFr. *coife / cuife*.<sup>73</sup> – πετσί 'piece of leather' (*Prodr.* III, 131), dated for the tenth century through the deriv. πετζέινος 'of leather,' requires a base form VLat. *\*petsia* (a var. of VLat. *\*pettia*) surviving at the margins of the Empire, in Greek, in the Banat, and in Tunisia.<sup>74</sup> – πάστελλος 'pastry' (Sophronius, Patr. of Jerusalem, 7th c.), with the deriv. παστελλοπούλης 'seller of pastry' (*Prodr.* IV, 129j MS g), continues Late Lat. *pastellum / pastellus*.

In the following the Byzantine Italianisms are arranged semantically within a chronological frame. The earlier Italianisms, i.e., those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the later ones, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, reflect different currents of acculturation: the former evidence the late medieval impact of Italy on Byzantium when the Italian settlements in Greece were, in many ways, part of the great Frankish, the Western, foray into the Eastern Mediterranean; the latter evolve as the Greek segment of the wide expansion of Italian Words-and-Things carried by the Renaissance. The nautical Italianisms are treated separately from the later borrowings since the technology of navigation, more than any other cultural field, represents the Italian and, in particular, Venetian contribu-

<sup>69</sup>Cioranescu, *Dicc.etim.rumano*, 721; Mihăescu, *Influența grecească*, 120; J. André, "Gaulois *sapana*, Latin *sapo*, Grec σάπων," *Études Celtiques*, 7 (1955–56), 352–55, with the concurrence of H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1960–72), s.v. σάπων.

<sup>70</sup>Wartburg, *FEW*, II:1, 106–107; C. Battisti and G. Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano (DEI)* (Florence, 1950–57), s.v. *càlcio*.

<sup>71</sup>Ch. DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis* . . . , s.v. ῥόκα, with unverifiable reference.

<sup>72</sup>Wartburg, *FEW*, XVI, 742; J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1954), s.v. *rueca*.

<sup>73</sup>Ph. Koukoules, *Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ λαογραφικά*, I (Athens, 1950), 128.

<sup>74</sup>Wartburg, *FEW*, VIII, 342.

tion. The Italian toponyms in Greece display a specific form of acculturation. The vitality of the Italian borrowings in Byzantium, finally, can be measured by their survival in the modern dialects.<sup>75</sup>

1. THE EARLIER PHASE. Two works of the Byzantine demotic literature, i.e., the literature written in the colloquial rather than the formal language of classical tradition, contain a considerable number of Italian lexemes. Both texts, not by chance satirical in view of the accumulation of foreignisms, belong to the genre of the animal epic. The one is the Πουολόγος [*Poul*], the *Bird Book*, which originated probably during the thirteenth century, although the MS from which all others derive is to be dated not before the first half of the fourteenth.<sup>76</sup> The second work is the Διήγησις τῶν τετραπόδων ζώων [*Tetr*], *Story of the Quadrupeds*, which originated in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>77</sup> Some Italian terms, above all nautical, are used in the *Chronicle of Morea* [*ChronMor*]. The Italianisms found in this earlier phase reveal already the semantic fields to remain typical of borrowings from Italian: navigation, fashion, and society. Examples:

(i) Navigation: ποδότας (*Poul*) ← OItal. *pedota* 'pilot,' with interference of Grk. ποδ-'foot'; *pedota* in turn is a blending of *piloto* and *ped*-'foot'; and Ital.

<sup>75</sup> The pioneering study on the Greek Italianisms: G. Meyer, *Neugriechische Studien, IV: Die romanischen Lehnworte im Neugriechischen*, SBWien, Philos.-hist.Kl., 132:6 (1895). A study on the Byzantine Italianisms, establishing the body of literary sources and concentrating on phonological adaptation: Triantaphyllidis, *Lehnwörter*. The Italian contribution to the regional dialects under Francocracy and Venetocracy: for Cyprus, Chatziioannou, *Περὶ τῶν . . . ξένων στοιχείων*, 63–119; for Crete, Ph. Koukoules, *Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν κρητικὴν λαογραφίαν ἐπὶ Βενετοκρατίας* (Contribution to Cretan folklore under Venetocracy), *Ἑπ. Ἑτ. Κρητ. Σπ.*, 3 (1940), 1–101; for Zante, L. Zoes, *Λεξικὸν ἱστορικὸν καὶ λαογραφικὸν Ζακύνθου* (Historical and folkloristic lexicon of Zante) (Athens, 1963 [completed 1970; 1st ed. Zakynthos, 1898–1934]). A survey: H. Kahane, "Gli elementi linguistici italiani nel neogreco," *Archivum Romanicum*, 22 (1938), 120–35. Bibliography: H. and R. Kahane, "Mediterranean Bibliography: 1. Italian Loan-Words in Modern Greek," *AIPHOS*, 7 (1939–44), 187–228.

<sup>76</sup> Text and linguistic commentary: *Ὁ Πουολόγος*, ed. S. Krawczynski, *Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*, 22 (Berlin, 1960). Italianisms: M. Cortelazzo, "I rapporti linguistici tra Venezia e la Grecia prima della caduta di Costantinopoli," in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. A. Pertusi (Civiltà veneziana: Studi 27; Florence, 1973–74), II, 136. Background: Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 174.

<sup>77</sup> Text: W. Wagner, *Carmina graeca mediae aevi* (Leipzig, 1874), 141–78; revised, with glossary and bibliography: V. Tsiouni, *Παλαιοφραστὸς διήγησις τῶν ζώων τῶν τετραπόδων*, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 15 (Munich, 1972). Background: Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 175; H. Eidenauer, rev. of Tsiouni's edition in *Ἑλληνικά*, 28 (1975), 453–60.

*piloto* itself a borrowing of Byz. πλώτης 'sailor'.<sup>78</sup> – πενέξης (*Poul*) ← OVen. *penese* 'quartermaster.' – πούσουλος (*Poul*) ← *bussola* /-o 'mariner's compass.' – τραμουντάνα (*Poul*) ← *tramontana* 'northwind, north, polestar.' – ταρίδα / ταρίτα / ταρέτα (*ChronMor*) ← OVen. OGen. *tarida* / OVen. *tareta* 'Mediterranean transportship' (itself of Arabic provenience). (ii) Fashion: καππούτζιν 'typical piece of Frankish clothing' (*Poul*) ← *capuccio* 'hood, capuche.' – κάλτσα (*Poul*) ← *calza* 'stocking.' – τζαλούνι n. 'golden yellow garment' (*Tetr*) / ζαλούνι adj. 'golden yellow, of garments' (*ChronMor*) ← EVen. *zálón* (~ Ital. *giallone*) 'golden yellow.' – γρούντα ← O Ital. *gronda* 'eyelash, brow'; the Greek term occurs in *Tetr* (MS C, of 1461, line 927b), with reference to (Frankish?) customs of personal grooming: κτενίζουν γρούντας τὰς ξανθὰς τὰς ἔχουσιν πολλάκις 'they comb their blond eyebrows, which they so often have.' – γρίζος adj., in the compounds γριζόθωρος 'of gray appearance' (*Poul*) / γριζόχροος 'of gray color' (*Poul*), and as a noun, γρίζο 'heavy woolen cloth' ← NItal. *griso* 'gray; heavy gray cloth.' (iii) Society: κόντης (*Tetr*) ← *conte* 'count,' with the var. κόντος (MS C, line 492), already mentioned yet rejected as a barbarism by Eustathius (12th c.)<sup>79</sup> and probably rendering OFr. *conte*. μισέρης (*Poul*) / μισέρ (*ChronMor*) ← Ven. *missier* 'honorific address.' – μαρκατάντος (*Tetr*) ← *mercantante* / *mercantanto* (the pretonic *a* also in the Ven. var. *marcante*) 'merchant.' – γαλιώτης (*Poul*) ← *galeotto* 'scoundrel.' – φρά– (*Poul*) 'Brother (prefixed to names of Catholic monks)' ← *Fra* / φράρης (*Poul*) ← Ven. *frar* 'Catholic monk.'

2. THE LATER PHASE. In the last two centuries, the fifteenth and the sixteenth, which witnessed the end and the aftermath of the Eastern Empire, the amount of recorded Italianisms increased by leaps and bounds. The Italian colonization of the maritime territories of late Byzantium coincided with the Western movement of the Renaissance, in the course of which cultural features and their lexical counterparts radiated from Italy on an extraordinary, international scale. A semantic classification of the eastern Italianisms results, *grosso modo*, in the same groupings that were characteristic of the Italian Renaissance words borrowed by Western and Central Europe: apart from navigation, they cover society, warfare, commerce, fashion, and poetry and

<sup>78</sup> Kahane, "On Venetian Byzantinisms" (*supra*, note 3), 366–67.

<sup>79</sup> H. Hunger, "On the Imitation (Μίμησις) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature," *DOP*, 23–24 (1969–70), 32.

music. Vidos coordinates, indeed, the Italian expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean with the European.<sup>80</sup> As to the linguistic level, our documentation is excerpted from the Byzantine literature written in the vernacular. As to geographical distribution, the literary sources exhibiting Italianisms on a large scale correlate with the centers of Italian influence: the Ionian Islands (such as Corfu and Zante), Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the Peloponnesus. We selected a small sample from the extensive record.

The sources, referred to by abbreviations, are the following:<sup>81</sup>

- Bentr = Tzanes Bentramos, Ἱστορία Φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς Περηφανίας [The story of Avarice and Vainglory] (probably first half of the 16th c., from Nauplia)<sup>82</sup>
- Berg = Bergades, Ἀπόκοπος [Rest from work] (possibly late 15th c., from Crete)<sup>83</sup>
- Boust = Georgios Boustronios, Διήγησις χρόνικας Κύπρου [A setting forth of the chronicle of Cyprus] (second half of the 15th c., from Cyprus)<sup>84</sup>
- Dieg = Διήγησις ὠραιότατη τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ λεγομένου Βελισαρίου [Wonderful narration about that marvelous man named Belisarius] (15th c.)<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> B. E. Vidos, *La forza di espansione della lingua italiana* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1932); revised in *Prestito, espansione e migrazione dei termini tecnici nelle lingue romanze e non romanze* (Florence, 1965), 47–67.

<sup>81</sup> Numerous Demotic texts appear in collections. The following abbreviations are used: Legrand, *Bibl.gr.vulg.* = E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, I–X (Paris, 1880–1913). Sathas, *Μεσ.Βιβλ.* = K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 vols. (Venice [later also Paris], 1872–94). Wagner, *Carmina* = W. Wagner, *Carmina graeca medii aevi* (Leipzig, 1874; rpr. Athens, n.d.). Zoras = G. Th. Zoras, *Βυζαντινὴ ποίησις* [Byzantine poetry], in *Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, I:1 (Athens, 1956). As to the literary background, chronology, and bibliography reference is made to Beck, *Volksliteratur* [abbr., Beck] and, where appropriate, to M. I. Manousakas, Ἡ κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς Βενετοκρατίας [The Cretan literature in the period of Venetocracy] (Thessalonike, 1965).

<sup>82</sup> Text: Zoras, 308–16; Beck, 194.

<sup>83</sup> Text: Legrand, *Bibl.gr.vulg.*, II, 94–122; new ed., St. Alexiou, *Κρ.Χρον.*, 17 (1963), 183–251. Manousakas, 16; Beck, 196–197. Concerning the title: Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, s.v. Ἀπόκοπος.

<sup>84</sup> Text: Sathas, *Μεσ.Βιβλ.*, II, 411–543. Trans. R. M. Dawkins, *The Chronicle of George Boustronios, 1456–1489*, Melbourne University, Cyprus Expedition, 2 (Melbourne, 1964). Beck, 160–61.

<sup>85</sup> Text: Wagner, *Carmina*, 304–321. Beck, 153. E. Follieri dates the origin of the poem somewhat earlier, around the end of the 14th century (“Il poema bizantino di Belisario,” in *La poesia epica*

- Gad* = Γαδάρου, λύκου κι ἄλουποῦς διήγησις ὥραία [Beautiful narration concerning the ass, the wolf, and the fox] (early 16th c., from Crete)<sup>86</sup>
- Georg, *Belis* = Emmanuel Georgillas, Ἱστορικὴ ἐξήγησις περὶ Βελισαρίου [The story of Belisarius] (end of the 15th c., from Rhodes)<sup>87</sup>
- Georg, *Than* = Emmanuel Georgillas, Τὸ θανατικὸν τῆς Ῥόδου [The plague of Rhodes] (end of the 15th c., from Rhodes)<sup>88</sup>
- Koron = Tzanes Koronaïos, Ἀνδραγαθήματα Μερκουρίου Μπούα [The feats of Merkourios Bouas] (1519, from Zante)<sup>89</sup>
- Makh = Leontios Makhairas, Ἐξήγησις τῆς γλυκείας χώρας Κύπρου, ἢ ποία λέγεται Κρόνακα τουτέστιν Χρονικόν [Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled ‘Cronaca’ that is to say Chronicle] (15th c., from Cyprus)<sup>90</sup>
- Sachl = Stephanos Sachlikes, Γραφαὶ καὶ στίχοι . . . [Writings and verses] (second half of the 15th c., from Crete)<sup>91</sup>
- Sklav = Manoles Sklavos, Ἡ συμφορὰ τῆς Κρήτης [The disaster of Crete] (1508, from Crete)<sup>92</sup>
- Synax = Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου [The legend of the honored ass] (probably early 16th c.)<sup>93</sup>
- Trivol = Iakobos Trivoles, Ποιήματα [Poems] (first half of the 16th c., from Corfu)<sup>94</sup>

*e la sua formazione*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, anno cclxvii, quaderno 139 [Roma, 1970], 613).

<sup>86</sup> Text: Wagner, *Carmina*, 124–40; new ed., L. Alexiou, *Κρ.Χρον.*, 9 (1955), 81–118. Manousakas, 22; Beck, 176–77; Cortelazzo, “Rapporti,” 136.

<sup>87</sup> Text: Wagner, *Carmina*, 322–47. Foreignisms: G. N. Chatzidakis, *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ νέα ἑλληνικά* (Medieval and Modern Greek) (Athens, 1905–7), I, 549. Beck, 153.

<sup>88</sup> Text: Legrand, *Bibl.gr.vulg.*, I, 203–25; new commentary: Ch. Papachristodoulou, Παρατηρήσεις στὸ θανατικὸ τῆς Ῥόδου . . . (Commentary to the Plague of Rhodes), in *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου* (Athens, 1960), 76–88.

<sup>89</sup> Text: K. N. Sathas, *Ἑλληνικά ἀνέκδοτα* (Athens, 1867), I, 1–153.

<sup>90</sup> Text, with translation and commentary: R. M. Dawkins, Leontios Makhairas, *Recital*. Beck, 160–61.

<sup>91</sup> Text: Wagner, *Carmina*, 62–105. Manousakas, 19–21; Beck, 200–2.

<sup>92</sup> Text: Wagner, *Carmina*, 53–61. Manousakas, 25–26; Beck, 167.

<sup>93</sup> Text: Wagner, *Carmina*, 112–23. Beck, 176–77.

<sup>94</sup> Text with translation and commentary: ed. J. Irmscher, *Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*, I (Berlin, 1956).

Examples: (i) The upper classes: *τζιντιλόμος* (Bentr) ← *gentiluomo* 'nobleman.' – *καβαλιέρης* (Bentr) ← *cavaliere* 'knight.' – *σινιόρ* (Makh) ← *signor* 'honorific title, used before first names.' – *κορτεζάνος / κορτιζάνος* (Trivol) ← Ven. *cortesàn* / Ital. *cortigiano* 'courtier.' (ii) The common people: *σκουτέρος* [or – *ης*?] (Sachl) ← *scudiero* / *scudiere* 'groom.' – *μανιγόρδος* 'gravedigger' (Georg, Than) ← *manigordo* 'crook.' – *πουντάνα* (Sachl) ← *puttana* 'whore.' – *βιλάναινα* (Georg, Than), feminine formed on *βιλάνος* (the latter preserved in modern dialects) ← *villano* 'boor.' (iii) Public life: *παλάττα* (Gad) ← *ballotta* 'ballot (ball by which a vote is registered, and the vote).' – *σανιτά* (Georg, Than) ← *sanità* 'public-health authority.' – *ντοάνα* (Trivol) ← OItal. and Ven. *doana* 'customs.' (iv) Daily life: the terms listed exemplify the style of everyday behavior which may have been felt as typical of the colonial masters: *βε(ν)τέττα* (Makh) ← *vendetta* 'vengeance.' – *στανταρισμός* 'hardship' (Trivol), derivative of (later recorded) *σταντάρω* ← *stentare* 'to find it hard.' – *φουργία* (Boust) ← *furia* 'fury, rage, rush.' – *κουράω* (Berg) ← *curare* 'take care.' (v) Qualities: *πρεφέττος* (Georg, Than) ← *perfetto* 'perfect.' – *φίνος*, of fabrics and humans (Koron) ← *fino* 'fine, subtle, shrewd.' – *νόβος* (Koron) ← Ven. *novo* 'new.' – *σουσπέττος* (Boust) ← *sospetto* 'suspect.' (vi) Religion: *χριστιάνος* (Trivol) ← *christiano* 'Christian.' – *φέδε / φέ* (Boust) ← *fede* / OItal. *fè* 'faith.' – *πίος* (Georg, Than) ← *pio* 'compassionate.' – *πριώρες* (Sachl) ← *priore* 'prior' and *πριώρα* (Sachl) ← *priora* 'prioress.' (vii) The house: *λότζα* (Makh, Sachl) ← *loggia* 'covered gallery.' – *μπαράκα* (Gad) ← *baracca* 'hovel.' – *κάμερα* (Bentr) ← Ital. *camera* and *κάμαρα* (Koron) ← Ven. *càmara* 'chamber.' – *σάντζια* (Makh) ← *stanza* 'chamber.' (viii) Commerce: *μπέτζι* (Trivol) ← Ven. *bezzi* pl. 'money.' – *καράτο* (Bentr) ← OItal. *carato* 'share in an enterprise.' – *κουμβράω* (Georg, Than) 'buy, redeem' ← *comprare* 'buy.' – *ζούρα* (Sklav) ← *usura* 'usury.' (ix) Interpersonal communication: *νοβέλα* 'happening' (Gad) ← *novella* 'news, tidings.' – *άβιζάω* (Gad) ← *avvisare* 'inform.' – *σαρμούνιν* (Georg, Than) ← *sermone* 'sermon.' – *ρόζονάω* (Sachl) ← Ven. *rasonar* 'talk.' (x) Poetry and music: *μπίφαρο* (Dieg, Synax) ← *piparo* 'pipe, fife.' – *βιόλα* (Dieg) ← *viola* 'viola.' – *βέρσο* (Sklav) ← *verso* 'line of verse, verse.' – *ρίμα* (Georg, Than; Trivol) ← *rima* 'rhyme, poetry,' with *ρίμάω* (Georg, Than) ← *rimare* 'write poetry.' (xi) Games: *άσο* (Sachl) ← *asso* 'the one on the dice.' – *τέρνον* (Sachl) ← *terno* 'terns (the double three in dice-playing).' – *ώκα* (Sachl) ← Ven. *oca* 'goose game (a board game played with dice).' (xii) Fashion: *βε-*

*λοῦδο* (Georg, Than) ← Ven. *veludo* 'velvet.' – *περέτα* (Sachl, Koron), in both passages in postnasal position, thus yielding a base form *μπερέτα* ← *berretta* 'cap.' – *μπότα / έμπότα* (Sachl) ← OItal. and Ven. *botta* 'lady's boot.' – *καδένα* 'chain around the waist' (Georg, Than) ← Ven. *cadena* 'chain.' (xiii) The crafts: *ρόδα*, in metaphorical use (Bentr) ← Ven. *roda* 'wheel.' – *(λιθάριν) της τόκας* (Sachl) ← *(pietra) di tocca* 'touchstone.' – *άτζάλιν* (Boust) ← Ven. *azzal* 'steel.' – *πικούνιν* (Boust) ← Ven. *picòn* 'pickax.' (xiv) Warfare, Soldierly: *σολδάτος / σορδάτος* (Makh) ← *soldato* 'mercenary.' – *φάντης* (Koron) ← *fante* 'foot soldier.' – *μπαλαιστρέρης* (Georg, Belis) ← *balestriere* 'crossbowman.' – *σακκουμάνος* (Makh) ← *saccomano* 'baggage.' (xv) Warfare, Thrust weapons: *πουνιάλλος* (Boust) / *πουνιάλε* (Bentr) / *μπουνιάλο* (Georg, Than) ← *pugnale* 'dagger.' – *κουρτέλλα* (Makh) ← *coltella* 'dagger,' with *r* and *u* in EVen. *cortél* / *curtél*. – *σκαρτζίνα* (Boust) ← *squarcina* 'kind of dagger.' – *στόκος* (Koron) ← *stocco* 'rapier,' with *στοκκάδα* (Boust) ← Ven. *stocada* 'rapier thrust.' (xvi) Warfare, Firearms: *συρπεντίνα* (Georg, Belis) / *σιρπιντίνα* (Boust) ← *serpentina* 'serpentine (a kind of cannon),' with influence of Grk. *σύρω* 'pull.' – *μπουμπάρδα* (Synax, Gad, Sklav) / *πουμπάρδα* (Makh; Georg, Belis) / *λουμπάρδα* (Trivol) ← *bombarda* (beside OFr. *bombarde*) / *lombarda* (an Italian Hispanism) 'bombard, the earliest type of cannon.' – *σκόπα* or *σκόπος*<sup>95</sup> (Synax) ← Ven. *\*sclopo* (beside MedLat. *sclopus*) 'carbine.' – *σκουπέτο* (Koron) / *σκεπέτο* (Trivol) ← *schioppetto* 'very short carbine.' (xvii) Particles: *φόρτζι* (Makh) ← *forse* 'perhaps.' – *καί ποῦρι* (Gad) ← *eppure* 'and yet, nevertheless,' with influence of *καί* 'and.' – *κόντρα* (Koron, Trivol) / *κούντρα* (Georg, Than) ← *contra* 'against.' – *τζίρα* (Boust) ← *circa* 'more or less.'

3. SEAMAN'S LANGUAGE. In the early Middle Ages the advanced nautical technique of the Byzantines contributed numerous, over fifty, Byzantinisms to the terminology of Western navigation;<sup>96</sup> in contrast, during the Late Byzantine period (and beyond into the era of Turcocracy) the great Italian maritime republics turned into a new center of nautical innovations widely borrowed with their nomenclature. The examples which follow are first recorded in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, although some of them may have entered Greek ear-

<sup>95</sup> The emendation *σκόπος* proposed by A. Hatzes, Πόθεν τὸ ἐθνικὸν Σκιπετάρ (Origin of the ethnicon Skipetar), Πρακτ. Ἀκαδ. Ἀθηνῶν, 4 (1929), 104.

<sup>96</sup> Kahane, "Abendland und Byzanz" (*supra*, note 3), 408–22; Cortelazzo, *L'influsso linguistico* (*supra*, note 3), *passim*.

lier.<sup>97</sup> The wealth of the maritime Italianisms will be highlighted by three samples: the first, a survey of the basic nautical subfields; the second focusing on a special terminology; the third, devoted to the nomenclature of the coast.<sup>98</sup>

**A. Survey:** As to the sources, two types of technical manuals stand out: the one a treatise on the equipment of a specific type of ship, a caravel;<sup>99</sup> the other, a set of Greek harbor books.<sup>100</sup> With the paramount role of the sea in Greek life poetical narratives written in the Demotic and contemporary chronicles contain considerable materials. The following small selection of Italianisms in Greek nautical parlance is typical above all in one respect: that almost all are Mediterranean terms; with their basic terminology the Greek seamen were part of an extended professional community.<sup>101</sup>

Examples: (i) Winds: μαῖστρος ← Ven. *maistro* 'northwest wind.' – φουρτούνα ← Ven. *fortuna* 'storm.'

<sup>97</sup> A few nautical terms borrowed in the fourteenth century or before are listed above, among the Italianisms of the Earlier Phase (IV, 1).

<sup>98</sup> The nautical parlance of the Byzantines has been analyzed by Ph. Koukoules from the point of view of Words-and-Things, 'Ο ναυτικός βίος (The world of the seaman), in *Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμὸς*, V (Athens, 1952), 344–86; and within a historical framework by H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance à propos du "Thème des Caravisiens,"* Bibl.gén.de l'Éc. Prat. des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> sect. (Paris, 1966) and H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966). Basic for the Italian elements: D. C. Hesseling, *Les mots maritimes empruntés par le grec aux langues romanes*, Verhand. Koninkl. Akad. van Wetensch. te Amsterdam, n.s., 5:2 (Amsterdam, 1903), with an extensive review by R. Kahane, "Italianische Marinewörter im Neugriechischen anlässlich D. C. Hesseling, Les mots maritimes empruntés par le grec aux langues romanes," *Archivum Romanicum*, 22 (1938), 510–82. Not available to us: P. E. Segditsas, *Οἱ κοινοὶ ναυτικοὶ μᾶς ὅροι καὶ αἱ ὁμιλιμαίνοντες γλώσσαι* (Our vernacular nautical terms and the Romance languages) (Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, 1965). Greek Venetianisms in terms of their geographical distribution: A. Karanastasis, "L'estensione dell'influsso veneziano sulla terminologia marinaresca greca," *Boll. dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo*, 8–9 (1966–67), 173–83. Two studies on the Greek Italianisms in the Mediterranean context: B. E. Vidos, *Storia delle parole marinaresche italiane passate in francese*, Bibl.dell'Archivum Romanicum, II: 24 (Florence, 1939), with a review from the Greek standpoint: H. Kahane, "Zur neugriechischen Seemannssprache," *BNJbb*, 15 (1939), 91–129; and H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin* (hereafter *Lingua Franca in the Levant*) (Urbana, 1958), with a review from the Greek standpoint: D. B. Bagiakakos, *Ἐπ. Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.*, 28 (1958), 537–54.

<sup>99</sup> A. Delatte, "L'armement d'une caravelle grecque du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après un manuscrit de Vienne," in *Miscellanea Mercati*, III, ST, 123 (Vatican City, 1946), 490–508.

<sup>100</sup> A. Delatte, ed., *Les portulans grecs*, Bibl.Univ.Liège, 107 (Liège-Paris, 1947) and *Les portulans grecs, II: Compléments*, MacBelg., Classe des Lettres, 53:1 (Brussels, 1958).

<sup>101</sup> The Mediterranean distribution of almost all terms in this Survey is traced in Kahane-Tietze, *Lingua Franca in the Levant*.

– μπονάτζα ← *bonaccia* 'calm.' (ii) The sea: φόντος / φούντος n. and m. / φούντι ← Ven. *fondo / fundi* 'bottom of the sea'; the eastern area of the term represents probably a blending of the Italian variant with a relic of the Balkanic Latinity. – ξένα ← *rena* 'sand.' – κουρέντι ← *corrente* 'current.' (iii) Harbor and shipyard: καργαδούρος ← Ven. *cargador* 'port of call.' – μαγαζί ← EVen. *magasin* 'warehouse.' – ἀρσενάς / ἀρσανάς ← OVen. *arsenà / arsanà* 'arsenal.' (iv) Navy: ἀρμάδα ← Ven. *armada* 'fleet.' – γάρδια [stress?] 'watch' in τριήρης τῆς γαρδίας 'guardship' ← Ven. *vardia* 'watch.' – βιστιρίζω ← *investire* 'run foul of, ram.' (v) Ships' types: φούστα ← Ven. *fusta* 'kind of galley.' – περγαντίν ← Ven. *bergantin* 'brig.' – καραβέλλα ← *caravella* 'caravel.' (vi) The hull of a vessel: κουβέρτα ← Ven. *coverta* 'deck.' – βάντα / μπάντα / πάντα ← *banda* 'side of a ship.' – σεντίνα ← *sentina* 'well room.' (vii) Masts and yards: ἀντένα ← *antenna* 'lateen yard.' – πινόν ← Ven. *penón* 'yard.' – τσούντα (indirectly dated through Turk. *cunda*, 16th c.) ← Ven. *zonta* (lit.) added piece; (naut.) \*pole of a mast, yardarm, peak of a gaff.' (viii) Sails: μαῖστρα ← Ven. *maistra* 'mainsail.' – μεντζάνα ← Ven. *mezána* 'mizzen sail.' – μαϊνάρω ← Ven. *mainar* 'lower a sail.' (ix) Course and steering: ἀλάργο ← *al largo* 'in the offing.' – βόλτα ← *volta* 'tack.' – ὄρτζα / ὄρσα ← Ven. *orza / Gen. orsa* 'weather side.' (x) Instruments: σκαντάγιον ← OVen. *scandaio* 'lead.' – πορτολάνος ← Ven. *portolan* 'portolano, sailing directions.' – κάρτα ναυογά / χαρτί ἀναβηγάση ← *carta da navigare* 'sea chart.' (xi) Mooring and anchoring: ἀρμετζάρω ← Ven. *armizar* 'moor.' – βαρδιάνος ← Ven. *vardián* 'spare anchor with its cable (perceived as "guardian").' – γρίπια ← Ven. *gripia* 'anchor-buoy-rope.' (xii) The crew: καπετάνος ← Ven. *capetano* 'captain.' – μοῦτσος ← *mozzo* 'ship's boy.' – τζούρμα ← Ven. *zurma* 'the rowers of a galley.'

**B. The Nomenclature of Ropes and Tackles:** The sheer quantity of the detail counts: a subfield, being covered (as in the description of the equipment of a caravel) by some sixty Italian and, more specifically, Venetian terms,<sup>102</sup> highlights ipso facto the technological omnipresence of the Venetian model in the nautical life of late Byzantium. The following selection of rigging terms in use by that time may suffice as illustration:

(i) Standing rigging: βέντος m. / βέντα f. ← *vento* 'guy.' – κορνέλα ← OVen. *choronella* 'pendant.' – ποπέζιν / ἀποπέζιν ← OVen. *popese / pupexe* 'shroud supporting the mast aft, supplementary shroud aft.' – στάντζιο n. / στάντζια f. ← *staggio* 'stay.' (ii) Run-

<sup>102</sup> Kahane, "Abendland und Byzanz," 577–80.



ning rigging: *μπορίνα* / *μπουρίνα* ← Ven. *borina* 'bowline.' – *μπράτσο* / *πράτσο* ← Ital. *braccio* / Ven. *brazzo* 'brace.' – *σκότα* ← *scotta* 'sheet of a sail.' – *κοντρασκότα* ← *contrascotta* 'clewline.' (iii) Tackles: *μαντεζέλο* ← Ven. *manteselo* / OVen. *mantixello* 'reef tackle.' – *παραγκινέτο* ← *paranchinetto* 'tackle of various uses.' – *σενάλι* / *συνάλι* ← OItal. *senale* / OVen. *sinal* 'runner and tackle, shroud tackle.' – *φρασκόνι* / *φρασκούνι* ← OVen. *frascone* 'burton (kind of tackle).'

C. The Nomenclature of the Coast: The portolanos were detailed descriptions of the coast to be used as guides by steersmen and pilots. They go back to ancient times and the tradition was resumed, on a considerable scale, by the thirteenth century in Italy.<sup>103</sup> The Italian portolanos contain an extensive vocabulary covering wind and weather, the sea and the land, harbors and landmarks, the course and the ship.<sup>104</sup> By late Byzantine times such "harborbooks" became available also to Greek seamen; they are preserved in MSS of the sixteenth century.<sup>105</sup> The Greek versions are partly translations, partly adaptations of the Italian models and they represent the Greek nautical jargon of a period in which the Byzantine supremacy was yielding to the Frankish, essentially the Venetian. The shift of the technological preponderance is reflected in the large proportion of the Italo-Venetian borrowings.<sup>106</sup> The Italianization of the Greek nautical parlance had become so extensive that even the terminology of referents hardly subject to technological innovations, such as the coast and its constituents, was permeated by Italian elements. Examples: *τέρα φέρμα* ← *terraferma* 'mainland.' – *κάλη* ← OVen. *chale* / Ital. *cala* 'cove.' – *βάλε* / *βάλη* ← Ven. *vale* 'shallow bay.' – *στρέτο* ← *stretto* 'strait.' – *μπούκα* ← *bocca* 'mouth of a river.'

Lexicologically the Greek harborbooks are, in certain respects, bilingual: the same referent is mentioned sometimes by its indigenous Greek name, sometimes by the foreign neologism; and this duplex form of expression elucidates the advance of the new terminology: the Italianisms overgrew their ancient and Byzantine equivalents. To illus-

trate with three sets of synonyms: (i) Designations of 'coast and beach'. The traditional Greek lexemes such as *ἀκτή* / *γιαλός* / *παραγιάλι* / *ἀμμούδα* are flanked in the portolanos by Italian *κόστα* ← *costa* / *λίτος* ← OItal. *lito* / *ρεβέρα* ← OItal. *rivera* / *ρίβα* ← *riva* / (σ)πλάτσα ← OVen. (s)*plagia* / *σπιάτσα* ← *spiaggia*. (ii) Names for 'promontory and neck of land'. Such Greek items as *ἀκρωτήριν* / *κεφάλι* / *γλώσσα* / *μύτη* mingle with the Italianisms *κάβος* ← *cavo* / *πούντα* ← *punta* / *λέγκα* ← *lengua* (var. of *lingua*) / *λένα* ← *lena*. (iii) Words for 'sandbank and cliff'. Such Greek expressions as *ξέρα* / *στέγη* / *πέτρα* / *ξερόπετρον* / *μονόπετρον* / *μονόβραχον* / *νησόπουλον* appear side by side with the Italian borrowings, *σέκα* ← *secca* / *σεκάνια* n. pl. ← *seccagna* 'group of sandbanks' / *κούδα* ← *coda* 'offshoot of a sandbank' / *σκόγιον* ← Ven. *scoio* / *σκογέτο* ← Ven. *scogetto* / *ρόκα* ← OItal. *rocca*.

4. ITALIAN TOPONYMS. The Italian influence on Greece is notable also in toponomastics. Greek placenames of Italian origin derive, essentially, from two sources: either they were Greek appellatives of Italian provenience, in many cases borrowed in Byzantine times, which turned into Greek toponyms as general or regional elements of the Greek lexicon; or they were Italian names of Greek localities given by the colonizing Italians themselves and then accepted and kept by the indigenous population.<sup>107</sup> The latter toponomastic pattern is found from the thirteenth century on, above all on the Ionian Islands, on Crete, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, Chios, Cyprus, the Peloponnesus, and the coasts of the mainland.

The names of several Cretan provinces exemplify the process.<sup>108</sup> They reflect a specific phase of regional history: the transition from the brief Genoese domination (1206–1212) to the Venetian, which was to last into the seventeenth century. The Genoese put numerous fortresses of the island into a state of preparedness against the Venetian enemy. (i) *Μεραμπέλλο*: One of the Genoese fortresses was

<sup>103</sup> Fundamental: K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Meereskunde und des geographischen Instituts an der Universität Berlin (Berlin, 1906).

<sup>104</sup> H. and R. Kahane and L. Bremner (trans. and notes by M. Cortelazzo), *Glossario degli antichi portolani italiani*, Quaderni dell' Archivio Linguistico Veneto, 4 (Florence, 1967).

<sup>105</sup> Delatte, *Portulans grecs* (supra, note 100).

<sup>106</sup> M. Cortelazzo, "L'elemento romanzo nei portolani greci," *Boll. dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo*, 1 (1959), 215–21.

<sup>107</sup> H. and R. Kahane, *Italianische Ortsnamen in Griechenland* (hereafter *Ortsnamen*), TFBzNgPhil, 36 (Athens, 1940), with comments and additions by D. J. Georgakas, "Italian Place-Names in Greece and Place-Names from Italian Loanwords," *Beitr. zur Namenforschung*, 1 (1949–50), 149–70 and 266–70, and D. B. Bagiakakos, *Σχεδιάσμα*, Ἀθηνᾶ, 66 (1962), 349–50.

<sup>108</sup> St. Xanthoudides, *Ἑπαρχίαι καὶ πόλεις Κρήτης* (Cretan provinces and towns) (hereafter *Ἑπαρχίαι*), Ἑπ. Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 3 (1926), 34–66; G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta* (hereafter *Monumenti*) (Venice, 1905–32), I, *passim*; Kahane, *Ortsnamen*, 19–20.



*Castel Mirabello*;<sup>109</sup> the name was taken over by the Venetians, and they applied it to the province. It is still in use.<sup>110</sup> (ii) Μονοφάτσι: The Genoese built the fortress, *Castel Bonifacio*, whose name, in all probability, derives from *Boniface*, Marquis of Monferrat; Crete was allotted to him in the Latin Empire of Constantinople.<sup>111</sup> The morpheme *boni-* of his name was transformed into *μνο-*. Here again, the name of the fortress, still preserved, was applied to the province. (iii) Μαλεβίτσι: This, too, was the name of a fortress, mentioned in 1303 and built by the Genoese or the Venetians. The name derives, probably, from Ven. *malvesin* 'evil neighbor.' The castle was, in the phrasing of a Venetian chronicler, "because of its closeness very menacing to the rebels" (*propter viciniam infestissimum rebellibus*).<sup>112</sup> The name of the fortress turned into one of a province and is still preserved. (iv) Καινούργιο: A Genoese fortress was called *Castel Nuovo* and the Italian name was translated into Greek by καινούργιο 'new.' The name of the castle turned into that of the province and survives. (v) Μονοπάρι: One fortress built by the Genoese was named *Castel Bonreparo*; Ital. *riparo* / Ven. *reparo* means 'bulwark'<sup>113</sup> and the castle must have been perceived as a "sturdy bulwark." In the indigenous dialect, with change of the initial, this name became (Καστέλλι) Μονοπάρι. There the Venetian provincial government had its seat, and during the period of Venetocracy *Bonreparo* was the name of the province now called Rethymne. Μονοπάρι still designates a village close to the fortress.

5. THE EVIDENCE OF MODERN GREEK. The influx of Italian borrowings continued for about three centuries beyond the end of the Byzantine Empire, up to the liquidation of the Venetian Republic by Napoleon. The influx was, of course, most enduring where, as on the Ionian Islands, Venetian rule was most lasting and forceful. But the once extraordinary wealth of Italianisms was steadily re-

duced by the rising consciousness of national identity, that most typical movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. National loyalty, particularly through its close tie to the modern forms of public education, translated itself into an inherently xenophobic language policy. Yet, well into our century, at least into its first third, the Italianisms have stubbornly continued to exist; among them many which had been in use in Byzantine times.

The following sample of survival, limited yet representative of the process of loss and preservation, is based on the lexemes used above to illustrate the process of entrance. The geographical distribution of a modern variant does, of course, not necessarily coincide with that of the corresponding Byzantine borrowing. The arrangement resumes that of the sections on Italianisms. The Italian base is not repeated. Where no dialectical distribution is indicated the lexeme is widely in use, often as an item of the general technical terminology.<sup>114</sup>

**A. Relics from the Earlier Phase:** (i) Navigation: ποδότας / ποδότης 'pilot.' – μπουσουλας 'mariner's compass.' – τραμουντάνα 'northwind, north, polestar.' (ii) Fashion: κάλτσα 'stocking.' – γριζος 'gray.' (iii) Society: κόντης 'count, obsolete title' (Naxos), 'arrogant person' (E. Thrace); the variant κόντες, closer to the Italian model, frequent as a nickname (Ion. Isl.). – μισέο, on the Ionian Islands an address used toward persons of lower status; in contrast, on Chios μισέο / μισές, probably reflecting Genoese *messer*, an honorific salutation. – γαλιότος 'scoundrel' (Ion. Isl.). – φλάρης / φλάρος 'Catholic monk' (Ion. Isl.), widely spread as a term of abuse (Ion. Isl., Cyclades, Dodecanese, Peloponn., Aetolia).

**B. Relics from the Later Phase:** (i) The upper classes. With changed conditions most of the old titles are gone; some, such as κόντες, survive in ironic use and obsolete locutions, above all on the Ionian Islands where the *Libro d'oro*, the time-honored record of the Venetian nobility, continued as a social register well into the twentieth century.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>109</sup>For the Italian toponym *Mirabello*: D. Olivieri, *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (Milan, 1953), s.v. mirare.

<sup>110</sup>Also: S. I. Phiorakes, Τὸ φρούριον Μιραμπέλλου καὶ ὁ Ἅγιος Νικόλαος (The fortress of Mirabello and the village Hágios Nikólaos), Ἑπ. Ἐτ. Κρητ. Σπ., 2 (1939), 100–8.

<sup>111</sup>We follow N. Platon, Τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ φρουρίου Monferrate ἢ Monforte (The name of the fortress Monferrate or Monforte), Κρ. Χρον., 6 (1952), 159–60. A different derivation of *Bonifacio* from the Corsican *Castel Bonifacio*: Gerola, *Monumenti*, I, 200, and Xanthoudides, Ἑπαρχίαι, 43.

<sup>112</sup>Somewhat differently N. Platon, Περί τὴν ὀνομασίαν τῆς ἐπαρχίας Μαλεβίτσι (On the province name Malevizi), Κρ. Χρον., 6 (1952), 156–58.

<sup>113</sup>Kahane, *Ortsnamen*, 191–92.

<sup>114</sup>The Italian relics in the modern dialects were compiled from, essentially, four sources: the Archives of the Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς of the Academy of Athens, to which we had access in the winter 1932–33; the materials listed in G. Meyer, *Neugriechische Studien*, III and IV and Kahane, *Ortsnamen*; and fieldwork carried on during the thirties on the Ionian Island of Cephalonia.

<sup>115</sup>E. R. Rangabé, *Livre d'or de la Noblesse Ioniennne*, I: *Corfou* (Athens, 1925); II: *Céphalonie* (Athens, 1926); III: *Zante* (Athens, 1927).

γκεντιλόμος 'nobleman' (Zante), 'generous' (Cephalonia) / τσιντιλόμος 'fussy in eating habits' (Epirus) / τσεντιλόμος 'nobleman, gentleman' (Cyprus) / τζιτζιλόμος 'gentleman' (Samos), 'fussy in eating habits' (Paxos, Syros, Peloponn.). – σινιόρ, polite address (Zante, Crete). – κορτετζιάνος 'he who courts ladies' (Cephal.) / κορτεζάνος 'anxious to please, vain' (Zante) / κουρτεζάνος 'polite' (Crete). (ii) The common people: μαλιόρδος, term of abuse (Rhodes) / μαλιγούρδος 'flatterer, hypocrite' (Peloponn.). – πουτάνα 'whore.' – βιλάνος (Crete, Cyclad.) / βιλλάνος (Cypr.) adj. 'boorish, stupid' / βιλάνος noun 'peasant' (Corfu). (iii) Public life: μπαλότα, the corresponding verb is preserved: μπαλοτάρω (Ion. Isl.) 'to cast a ballot' ← *ballottare*. – δογάνα / ντο(υ)(γ)άνα (Ion. Isl., Peloponn., Epirus) ← *Ital. Ven. doana* / *EVen. dogana* 'customs office, customs.' (iv) Daily life with, essentially, psychological terms: βεντέτα 'vengeance' (above all, Ion. Isl., Crete). – σταντάρω 'keep someone short, exert oneself' (Cephal.) / στεντάρω 'make an effort' (Zante), 'live in want' (Cyprus). – φούρια 'haste, vehemence, anger.' – κουράρω 'take care' (Cyclad., Dodecan., Macedonia, Pontus). (v) Qualities: πρεφέτος 'perfect' (Ion. Isl., Epirus), with suffix change πρεφάτος (Peloponn. [Kalavryta]). – φίνος 'fine (of quality, feeling, manners, fabrics), shrewd.' (vi) Religion: μοχοριστιάνος 'good-natured man' (Ion. Isl.) ← *Ven. bon cristian*. – φέδε (Cephal., Crete, Cythnos) / φέδα (Cyclad., Chios, Cyprus, Epirus) 'faith, trust.' (vii) The house: λό(ν)τζα (in wide use) 'loggia, hall, hut.' – μαράγκα / παράγκα 'hut.' – κάμαρα 'chamber' (widely used), with κάμερα above all on the Ion. Isl. and Crete. (viii) Commerce: μπέτσι 'coin' (Cephal., Zante). – ούζουρα / άζούρα 'usury' (Cephal.). (ix) Interpersonal communication: άβιζάρω 'inform.' – ροζανάρω (Crete) / ροζονάρω (Crete, Melos) 'chat.' (x) Poetry and music: πίφερο (Ion. Isl., Chios) / πίφιρο (Thrace) 'pipe.' – βιόλα 'viola.' – βέρσο 'poem' (Zante), 'satirical poem' (Chios), 'laughing-stock' (Cephal.), 'affliction, misdeed' (Crete), 'warble of birds' (Cephal.), 'grace, affected speech' (Ion. Isl., Cythnos). – ρίμα 'verse, occasional verse, improvised poem, satirical song, verbiage, narrative' (widely spread), with ρίμαρω 'rhyme' (Cephal.), 'narrate' (Chios). (xi) Games: άσος 'the one in dice' (Crete), 'ace in card games' (common). (xii) Fashion: βελούδο 'velvet.' – μπερέτα 'cap.' – μπότα 'boot.' – καδένα 'chain.' (xiii) The crafts: ρόδα 'wheel.' – τόκα 'touchstone to test silver' (Cephal.) / τόκο 'testing of gold' (Zante). – άτσάλι 'steel.' – (μ)πικούνι 'pickax' (Ion. Isl., Cyclad., Crete, Peloponn., Cyprus). (xiv) Warfare, Soldierly:

σολδάτος / σολδάδος ← *Ital. soldato* / *Ven. soldado* 'soldier' (widely used into the 19th c.). – φάντες 'police officer in the era of British colonial rule' (Cephal.) / φάντις 'soldier' (Naxos). (xv) Warfare, Thrust weapons: μπουνιαλάκι 'small dagger' (Crete). – κουρτέλα (Thera, Cyprus) / κουτέλα (Icaria, Macedonia) 'large knife.' – στόκος 'rapier' (widely used), with στοκάδα (metaphorically) 'scolding, offense' (Crete). (xvi) Warfare, Firearms: πουμπάρδα (Cyprus) / μπουμπάρδα (Crete) / λουμπάρδα (Crete, Pontus) 'obsolete cannon.' – σκλόπος 'toy gun' (Cyclad., Bithynia). – σκε(π)πέτ(τ)ο / σκι(π)πέτ(τ)ο (Corfu, Crete, Dodecan., Cyprus) 'musket' / σκίππεττο (Megiste [island E of Rhodes]) 'lean person.' (xvii) Particles: φόρσι 'perhaps' (Cythnos). – έπούρι 'and yet' (Crete, Karpachos) / και πούρι 'and yet' (Cephal.) / πούρι 'yet; certainly' (Ion. Isl., Crete, Cyclad., Dodecan., Peloponn.). – κόντρα 'against [adv. and prepos.].' – τσίγκα 'about' (Cephal., Megiste).

#### C. Relics from the Seaman's Language:

Survey. (i) Winds: μαίστρος 'northwest wind.' – φουρτούνα 'storm.' – μπουνάτσα 'calm.' (ii) The sea: φόντο / φούντο n. (the latter widely used) / φούντος n. (Crete) / φόντος m. (Thera) 'bottom of the sea.' (iii) Harbor and shipyard: μαγαζί 'warehouse, storehouse.' (iv) Navy: άρμαάδα 'fleet,' up to the beginning of this century usually 'the Turkish fleet.' – βάρδια 'watch.' – βιστιρίζω / βιστιρω 'run foul of, ram' (Corfu, Paxos, Crete, Dodecan., Cyprus). – (v) Ships' types: the terms are by now obsolete. (vi) The hull of a vessel: κουβέρτα 'deck.' – μπάντα / πάντα 'side of a ship.' – σεντίνα / σιντίνα 'well room.' (vii) Masts and yards: άντένα 'lateen' yard.' – πινό 'yard, yardarm.' – τσούντα 'pole of a mast; yard tackle; peak halyard.' (viii) Sails: μαίστρα 'mainsail.' – μεντζάνα 'mizzen sail.' – μαϊνάρω 'lower a sail.' (ix) Course and steering: άλάργο / άλάργου 'in the offing.' – βόλτα 'tack.' – όρτζα / όρσα 'weatherside, luff.' (x) Instruments: σκαντάγιο / σκανδάλιο 'lead.' – πορτολάνο 'portolano, sailing directions.' – (xi) Mooring and anchoring: άρμεζάρω 'moor.' (xii) The crew: καπετάνος 'captain.' – μούτσος 'ship's boy.' – τσούρμιο 'the crew.'

Ropes and tackles. About one half of the technical terms of this semantic field survive. The following are examples: (i) Standing rigging: βέντο 'guy.' – στάντζος m. / στάντζα f. 'stay.' (ii) Running rigging: μπουρίνα 'bowline.' – μπράτσο 'brace.' – σκότα 'sheet of a sail.' – κοντρασκότα 'preventer sheet.' (iii) Tackles: μαντιζέλο 'reef tackle.' – φλασκούνι 'stay tackle.'

Nomenclature of the coast. Also about half of

the Italianisms appearing in the portolanos, i.e., referring to the terminology of the coast, survive. Some of them are widely used, some are just regionalisms. Examples: *βάλη* (in wide use) / *βάλα* (Megiste, Krene [Turk. Çeşme, Micrasiatic port opposite Chios]) / *βάλλα* (Chios) / *ἄβάλη* (Leukas, Cephal.) 'bay, often a small one.' – *στρέτο* 'strait.' – *μπούκα* 'mouth of a river or harbor.' – *κόστα* 'coast.' – *ρίβέρα* (Thera, Aetol.) / *ρεβέρα* (Syros) / *ρουβέρα* (Mykonos) 'beach.' – *ρίβα* 'landing' (Nisyros). – *σπλάντζα* (Megiste) 'coast' / *σπλάζα* (Syme) 'neck of land.' – *σπιάντζα* (above all Ion. Isl.) 'beach.' – *κάβος* 'promontory.' – *πούντα* 'neck of land.' – *λένα* 'sandbank.' – *σέκα* / *σέκο* 'sandbank,' preserved in metaphorical use: *στὰ σέκα* 'in a fix' (Cephal.). – *σκόγιο* 'cliff.'

**D. Toponyms:** Many Italianisms, early, later, or nautical ones, survive in that conservative linguistic field, placenames. Their referent, usually, implies an inherent suitability to function as toponym: often, e.g., they name "landmarks," and landmarks bridge the gap between appellative and toponym.<sup>116</sup> Here, we stress the fact of survival rather than the puzzle of origin: it is often difficult to state whether a toponym originated with the foreigner to be kept by the native, or whether the Greek speaker named the place by means of a borrowed and to him familiar lexeme. In principle, the former pattern indicates that toponymic use was one way leading to integration; the latter pattern shows that integration was a basis for toponymic application. The following placenames are flanked by corresponding appellatives, used in Byzantine Greek; they are intended to illustrate, independent of their beginning, the semiotic facets of naming:<sup>117</sup>

(i) Natural landmarks: *riva* 'shore, coast:' *Ρίβα*, a promontory (Island of Therasia, near Thera); *Ρίβα*, landing in the gulf of Andros, in use since Francocracy. – *bocca* 'mouth of a river, gulf, harbor:' *Μπούκα*, mouth of the river Ποτάμι, on Corfu; *Μπούκα*, headland at Porto Spuzzo on Paxos, which forms the entrance to the harbor. – Ven. *cavo* 'promontory:' *Κάβος* was a widespread name of promontories, well into the nineteenth century, frequently in combination with an epithet, which follows as in *Κάβος της Βίγλας* 'Outlook Cape,' on Paxos, or precedes as in *Ἄσπρος Κάβος* 'White Cape,' in Melos. – (ii) Relative position: *banda* 'side,

side of a ship, countryside:' *Πέρα Μπάντα* 'Yonder Side,' referring to the country across the river Μουσέλας in the Cretan prov. of Rethymne. – *contra* 'against:' *Κόντρα*, headland on Paxos which turns inward, possibly a shortening of \**Κοντραπούντα* 'Counterheadland.' – Ven. *maistro* 'northwest wind, northwest:' *Μαίστρος*, a promontory in the NW area of the island Paros. (iii) Functional structures: EVen. *dogana* 'customshouse:' *Ντουγάνα*, the area in Leukas and in Argostoli (the latter on Cephalonia) where the customshouse is located. – EVen. *magasin* 'warehouse:' *Μαγαζειά* n.pl., village on Paxos named after a group of taverns; *Μαγαζιά* n. pl., warehouses located at the coast east of the town of Skyros. – Ven. *vardia* 'watch:' *Βάρδια*, an area in the Cretan province of Sphakia where the ruins of a tower are found. (iv) Buildings: *loggia* 'covered gallery:' *Λότζια* / *Λότζα*, building on the main square at Herakleion, formerly a sumptuous meeting hall, one of several characteristic Loggias of the Venetocracy, on Crete; *Λότζα*, fieldname near Lixouri, on Cephalonia, so called after a house with an annex. – *baracca* 'hovel:' *εἰς τὴν Μπαράκα* 'at the Baracca,' a valley with terraces and a small hut, on the island of Antipaxos; *Παράκες* f.pl., the area of the vegetable market, in the main town of Chios. – *camera* 'room:' *Κάμερες* f.pl., a once Venetian villa, in the Dept. of Canea, on Crete; *Κάμερα* f.sing., a spacious old house, with many rooms, in the Cretan Dept. of Rethymne. (v) Metaphorization: *antenna* 'yard, spar:' *Ἀντένες* f.pl., on the island of Kasos, an area where the plots are divided into stripes. – Ven. *zonta* 'added piece:' *Τζόντα* f. is commonly used, in the Cretan Dept. of Canea, as the name of pastures located close to settlements. – *lombarda* 'bombard' → *λουμπάρδα*, with the agent derivative *λουμπαρδιάρης* 'bombardier:' *Ἅγιος Δημήτριος Λουμπαρδιάρης* 'St. Demetrius the Bombardier,' an Athenian church name symbolizing, from the Christian angle, an episode occurring during the period of Turkish rule: the destruction of the Propylaea on the Acropolis, in 1656, was considered a miracle effected by St. Demetrius, and the small nearby basilica, dedicated to him, assumed the epithet in memory of the event. (vi) Agentives. Italianisms referring to persons appear sometimes in a particular toponymic pattern, a binomial noun phrase, whose head is an appellative noun, often implied, modified by an agentive: *messère* / *missère* 'honorific address:' *Μισέ Γιάννη* 'Sir John's' / *Μισέ Νικόλα* 'Sir Nicholas's,' locations on Chios, at some time probably the properties of the persons named. – Ven. *frar* 'Catholic monk:'

<sup>116</sup>H. and R. Kahane, "From Landmark to Toponym," in *Sprache und Geschichte: Festschrift für Harri Meier* (Munich, 1971), 253–58.

<sup>117</sup>The records in Kahane, *Ortsnamen*.

Φραγονήσι 'Monks' Island,' former name of an islet in the Cretan Gulf of Souda, where the Eremitani owned the monastery of St. Nicholas; Φραζῶ, a petrified gen.plur., 'of the Φράζοι,' naming a site on Naxos formerly belonging to a religious brotherhood. — Ven. *capetano* 'captain:' στ' Καπιτάν 'at the captain's,' name of a spring near Konitsa in N. Epirus built by a captain, with NGreek change of unstressed *e* → *i*.

#### V. THE CHANNELS OF "ROMANIA NUOVA"

The new Frankish world which developed, with the Crusades, in the Eastern, largely Byzantine, Mediterranean, was multilingual. French, Provençals, Normans, Catalans, and Italians, in particular Venetians and Genoese, conquered, settled, traded—and talked. Communication of these "Franks" with the natives crystallized into the numerous borrowings: they reflect the contribution by the West to Byzantium and preserve the image which the Byzantines formed of the Westerners. Although, then, we have an inkling of the effect, little is known about the process of the acquisition of Romance by the Greeks.

Dawkins has compiled a set of perceptive observations by natives and travellers, which, taken together, amount to a sociolinguistic description of multilingual Cyprus in the late and post-Byzantine periods. (i) A few stray remarks confirm the obvious: that the educated tried to learn foreign idioms. In the thirties of the fourteenth century, a German traveller reported that foreign languages were specially taught: *in specialibus scholis docentur idioma cuncta*.<sup>118</sup> In 1432, as stated by a French traveller, two better-educated Cypriotes, one of them the historiographer Makhairas, *parloient asses bon françois*.<sup>119</sup> (ii) The less educated were confused. A Swiss traveller of the late fifteenth century described the helpless attempts of a Cypriote priest, who knew only Greek, to talk to foreigners: *Nec loqui nobis poterat, quia purus Graecus erat, et latinum erat sibi barbaricum; italicum arabicum; et theutonicum tartaricum*.<sup>120</sup> (iii) The attitudes toward foreignisms reveal the magnitude of their influx: A sixteenth-century portrayer of Cyprus was struck by the *Grec* . . . *bien corrompu*;<sup>121</sup> and a native such as Makhairas was keenly aware of the dangers of multi-

lingualism for the purity of his Greek heritage: "And when the Latin period [τὸ λατίνικον] began, men started to learn French and their Greek became barbarous [βαρβαρίζσαν], just as it is to-day, when we write both French [φράγγικα] and Greek [ρωμαϊκά] in such a way that no one in the world can say what our language is."<sup>122</sup> One is reminded of Étiemble's diatribes against today's Franglais.

In the eastward channeling of Western linguistic features three subcodes can be discerned. All three represent typical features inherent in the process of colonization. Two are in a polar contrast reflecting the diaphasic levels involved: Medieval Latin, primarily the style of officialdom, appeared in the East as the offshoot of the dominant Western language of educated expression; Lingua Franca, on the other end of the stylistic range, was the form of speech developing in situations of linguistic emergency. The third subcode, which was the carrier of a vast amount of lexical borrowings, is circumscribed by its content: the special language of technology.

**A. Medieval Latin:** That class-bound Western idiom of formal style, Latin, seems to have had its function also as the official interlingua with Byzantium. The "learned" contacts between the two cultures proceeded, into the twelfth century, on the level of an educated tradition in its two cherished forms, medieval Latin and its counterpart, medieval Puristic Greek.<sup>123</sup> There are scattered hints as to the typical uses of Latin in the East. (i) According to Joannes Tzetzes, the twelfth-century polyhistor, the dialogue between "Latins" and Byzantines was carried on, in the capital, chiefly in Latin, the Latin of the times; and he himself supplied a simple paradigm of his conversational practice: *Bene venesti domine, bene venesti frater, unde es et de quale provincia venesti? qomodo frater venesti in istan civitatem? pedone, cavallarius, per mare, vis morare?*<sup>124</sup> (ii) Byzantine official documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries sometimes express Western

<sup>122</sup> Makhairas, ed. Dawkins, I, 142–43. The passage interpreted as the author's self-portrait: Beck, *Volksliteratur* (*supra*, note 41), 160.

<sup>123</sup> Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 5.

<sup>124</sup> G. Moravcsik, "Barbarische Sprachreste in der Theogonie des Joannes Tzetzes," *BNJbb*, 7 (1928–29), 355–57 (rpr. in G. Moravcsik, *Studia Byzantina* [Amsterdam, 1967], 286–87). Our transliteration follows H. Hunger, "Zum Epilog des Johannes Tzetzes," *BZ*, 46 (1953), 305. Linguistic criteria suggest that Tzetzes' Latin mentor may have come from southern Italy, that bilingual area of Hellenism and Romanism (H. and R. Kahane, "Lingua Franca: The Story of a Term," *Romance Philology*, 30 [1976–77], 28).

<sup>118</sup> Makhairas, ed. Dawkins, II, 112.

<sup>119</sup> Makhairas, ed. Dawkins, II, 16.

<sup>120</sup> Makhairas, ed. Dawkins, II, 113.

<sup>121</sup> Makhairas, ed. Dawkins, II, 112.

technical concepts in their Latinized form, with a term of ancient tradition occasionally adapted to modern conditions. Thus, *κοινοῦνιον* refers to the body of self-government in an Italian Republic,<sup>125</sup> and *κόνσουλοι* / *κούνσουλοι* to the magistrates of these city-states.<sup>126</sup> (iii) Current Western Latinisms left their reflexes also on the level of the Byzantine Demotic: Lat. *peregrinus* / *pelegrinus* 'foreigner, stranger' was early borrowed by Greek as *περεγρίνος* (6th c.) / *πελεγρίνος* (9th c.); then, not later than 1000, the Latin term shifted, in ecclesiastic context, to 'pilgrim'<sup>127</sup> and with the Crusades Grk. *περεγρίνος* / *πελεγρίνος* was likewise applied to the 'pilgrim,' with records in Anna Comnena and the popular *Prodromic Poems* (I, 257 Hesselings-Pernot). Hunger incorporates Anna Comnena's *περεγρίνος* in a set of administrative and military Latinisms "nativized sometime in the past."<sup>128</sup> The folksiness of the Greek medieval term is corroborated by the semantic nuance 'robber' which survives in modern *πελεγρίνος*.<sup>129</sup>

Although the official (and written) communication must have played its part in the transfer of keyterms, the layer of medieval Latin within the Greek lexicon is not easily ascertained since the potentially Latin lexemes were on the whole just variants, spruced up for documentation, of terms in wide use. The following instances exemplify typical dilemmas of derivation: (i) Late Byz. *πόπουλον* (beside *πόπολον*) 'crowd, the people' could render Med.Lat. *populus*<sup>130</sup> or OItal. *populo*,<sup>131</sup> or derive from OItal. *popolo* with secondary Greek change of the posttonic vowel. (ii) What appears to be a Latinism in Byzantium may likewise be analyzable as a Byzantinism in the West: Med.Lat. *cursarius* 'pirate' could have been borrowed by the East as *κουρσάριος*; or *κουρσάριος* 'pirate' (11th c.) might have been a Greek coinage in -άριος (based on *κοῦρσον* 'foray, also in naval enterprises' [6th-7th c.] ← Lat. *cursus* 'march, journey'), which then was borrowed by the West as *cursarius* (dated indirectly

for the 12th c.). (iii) The chronology of records evolves as a relatively safe criterion of diagnosis, making Med.Lat. origin rather probable for lexemes first recorded in the eleventh or at the beginning of the twelfth century; by then, Latin as a living source of lexemes no longer existed, French and Italian lexemes were not yet taken over: *λίξιος* adj. 'liege,' which occurs first as a keyterm in the Treaty of Deabolis (1108), between Alexios I and the Norman Bohemond, derives, in all probability, from Med.Lat. *ligius*.<sup>132</sup> (iv) By the middle of the twelfth century Frankish terms emerge. The following case may be indicative of the onset of the new linguistic layer. Joannes Tzetzes, the versatile and polyglot author, in his own Scholia to his *Allegories to the Iliad* comments upon *κνημίδας* 'greaves' (XI, 12):<sup>133</sup> *καλτίους σιδηρούς, τοὺς φραγγικῶς . . . λεγομένους κάλτζας* 'iron κάλτιοι, which in Frankish are called κάλτζαι.' He translates, then, by doublets. The first represents the Greek Latinism *κάλτιος*;<sup>134</sup> the second, *κάλτζα*, is taken from the contemporary terminology of a knight's equipment: it renders OFr. *calce* / *cauce* / *cauce de fer*, which left traces, as it did in Greek, also in MHG *kolze* / *golze* / *îsergolze* '(iron) greave'.<sup>135</sup> A third cognate, *κάλτσα* 'stocking,' appears later and is Italian.

**B. Lingua Franca:** The glottonym, of Greek provenience, is polysemous.<sup>136</sup> When the Byzantines recognized Charlemagne's *Imperium Francorum* they saw themselves, the Romans, *Ῥωμαῖοι*, in contrast to the Westerners, whom they termed Franks, *Φράγκοι*. With the Crusades and the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, *φραγγικά* / *φράγκικα*

<sup>125</sup> J. Ferluga, "La ligesse dans l'Empire Byzantin," SAN, Sbornik radova. Vizantološki Institut, 7 (1961), 99–100.

<sup>126</sup> P. Matranga, *Anecdota graeca* (Rome, 1850), II, 617. Koukoulos, *Εὐσταθίου τὰ λαογραφικά* (*supra*, note 73), I, 130.

<sup>127</sup> P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1968–80), s.v. *κάλτιος*.

<sup>128</sup> A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesänger* (Leipzig, 1889), II, 36. K. Jaberg, "Zur Sach- und Bezeichnungsgeschichte der Beinbekleidung in der Zentralromania," *Wörter und Sachen*, 9 (1926), 153.

<sup>129</sup> H. Schuchardt, "Die Lingua franca," *Zeitschr. für rom. Philologie*, 33 (1909), 441–61 (Eng. trans. in H. Schuchardt, *The Ethnography of Variation: Selected Writings on Pidgins and Creoles*, ed. and trans. by T. L. Markey, Linguistica Extranea, Studia, 3 [Ann Arbor, 1979], 26–47). P. Fronzaroli, "Note sulla formazione della lingua franca," in *Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere "La Colombaria," Atti e memorie*, 20 (1955), 211–52. G. Folena, "Introduzione al veneziano «de là da mar»," *Boll. dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo*, 10–12 (1968–70), 331–76. Kahane, "Lingua Franca," 25–41. M. Cortelazzo, "Il contributo del veneziano e del greco alla lingua franca," in *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV–XVI)*, eds. H.-G. Beck, M. Manousacac, A. Pertusi (Florence, 1977), II, 523–35.

<sup>125</sup> E.g., F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, III (Vienna, 1865), 76–84 (Venice). Application to Greek conditions: Kahane, *Ortsnamen*, 109–10.

<sup>126</sup> E.g., Miklosich and Müller, III, 2, 3, 24, 25 and *passim* (Genoa); 8, 23 (Pisa).

<sup>127</sup> Wartburg, *FEW* (*supra*, note 22), VIII, 234.

<sup>128</sup> H. Hunger, "Stufen der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnena und Michael Glykas," *Byzantine Studies / Études byzantines*, 5 (1978), 162.

<sup>129</sup> Ph. Koukoulos apud P. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 15 (1923), 181.

<sup>130</sup> Latin derivation: Dawkins, ed., *Makhairas*, II, 263; Chatzioannou, *Περὶ τῶν . . . ξένων στοιχείων*, 51.

<sup>131</sup> Italian derivation: Triantaphyllidis, *Lehnwörter*, 2, 136.

'Frankish' referred collectively to communication with the Latins, predominantly the speakers of Romance, with whom the Byzantines came into contact. The Venetians, adapting the Greek term, used (aside from *francum*, the official Latin<sup>137</sup>) *franco* / *lingua franca* for the "Colonial Venetian" spoken in their far-flung possessions, from Dalmatia to the Levant. Then, in a further step, the term turned into the label of the specific style of communication which evolved where neither of the speakers was fluent in the other's language. The indigenous population spoke, of course, Greek but in its dealings with the Western foreigners had to switch, for better or for worse, to a foreign model of speech imposed on them. No substantial body of material of such style is preserved; traces are found in the eighteenth century, when the observant Venetian writer Carlo Goldoni wove samples of the Levantine contact vernacular into his plays.<sup>138</sup> At any rate, the most characteristic feature of this pidginized Romance, the substitution of the infinitive for inflected verb forms, is prefigured in the earliest borrowings.<sup>139</sup> Spoken Greek had lost its infinitives in the Hellenistic era and replaced them by finite forms: *I want to go* → *I want that I go*. In the process of borrowing, Romance infinitives, statistically frequent, were taken over by Greek as the verb form par excellence and then embedded into the Greek morphological structure through the addition of Greek personal endings, immediately or via suffixes: thus OFr. *conquister* [kōnkesté] (since final -r of the French infinitive had largely disappeared by the fourteenth century) must have been first isolated and accepted in the infinitive and then, in the transfer to Greek, have been expanded by the common verbal suffix -ίζ- followed by a personal ending, with *κονυγχεσιτζω* 'I conquer' as the result, documented in the *Chronicle of Morea*; to exemplify with an -ir verb, OFr. *garnir* [garni] was taken over in the infinitive and remodeled as *γαρντζω* 'I equip,' also in the *Chronicle of Morea*. Similarly, in the Late Byzantine dialect of Cyprus, where the verbal suffix -ιάζω was popular, the infinitive *protester* [protesté] was personalized to *προτεστιάζω* and OFr. *consentir* [kōnsēnti] became *κονσεντιάζω*. Italian infinitives underwent an analogous process of embedding: thus the favored Italian ending -ar(e) was personalized in the course of its adaptation to

Greek: Ven. *rasonar* 'to talk' → Crete *ρόζονάρω* (15th c.).

Lingua franca, the infinitive-centered language with its mini-grammar, chiefly Italian-based, developed with *Romània nuova* in the Eastern Mediterranean. It stimulated (as a current hypothesis suggests<sup>140</sup>) a global model for the interlinguas of colonialism, the pidgins.

C. The Technological Lingua Franca: The sea has been, up to the threshold of modern times, a most effective linguistic channel and, at the same time, medium and content of diffusion.<sup>141</sup> It contributed, in its particular orbit, to a unified culture and the unified culture produced a unified terminology of maritime civilization. Certain points evolve as centers of radiation, and the more powerful the focus, the wider the diffusion. From such centers spread a "special language," the complex and ever-innovating technical jargon of navigation, and tied to it, the jargon of trade. The Mediterranean was the classical example. Venice, above all, and then Genoa were the medieval foci for the eastbound movement of lexemes. One example: Lat. *fortuna* '(good or bad) luck,' which over a medieval formula such as *fortuna maris* 'risk of the sea' changed to a maritime meaning 'storm,' became pan-Mediterranean, in the East clearly borrowed from Venice.<sup>142</sup>

In retrospect, then, the story of the "Romania Lost" and the "Romania Found," told from the angle of Greek, retraced the impact of the West on Byzantium in terms of linguistic data. This impact was weighty indeed in either phase.

The Latin layer, in its use and its registers, symbolized the Romanism in the Byzantine institutions, which bound the Eastern Empire to the West. In its conservatism it kept the heritage alive. On the other hand, Latin represented, phonologically and morphologically, a non-Greek subcode within Greek. It thereby contributed to the weakening of Byzantine linguistic rigidity and seems to have evolved as a powerful trigger for the rise of Demotic features.

Then, half a millennium or so later, when the

<sup>137</sup> A record of 1483, from Euboea: D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assizes de Romanie": Sources, application et diffusion*, Ec.Prat.des Hautes Études (Paris, 1971), 103 note 1.

<sup>138</sup> Kahane, "Lingua Franca," 36–38.

<sup>139</sup> Kahane, "Lingua Franca," 38–39.

<sup>140</sup> K. Whinnom, "The Origin of the European-Based Creoles and Pidgins," *Orbis*, 14 (1965), 522–27. A recent discussion: A. J. Naro, "A Study on the Origins of Pidginization," *Language*, 54 (1978), 338–39.

<sup>141</sup> H. Kahane, "The Sea as a Medium of Linguistic Diffusion," *Italica*, 28 (1951), 287–91.

<sup>142</sup> Kahane and Tietze, *Lingua Franca in the Levant*, 227–28; H. and R. Kahane, "Risk," in *Verba et Vocabula: Ernst Gamillscheg zum 80. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1968), 280 and 282.

Crusaders had tried to chain the East to a chivalric West and brought their Things-and-Words to fleetingly feudalized possessions, the dynamic accumulation of Venetianisms in Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greece, followed by their trickle-down,<sup>143</sup>

<sup>143</sup>H. and R. Kahane and R. Ash, "Linguistic Evidence in Historical Reconstruction," in *Linguistic Method: Essays in Honor of Herbert Penzl*, Janua Linguarum, ser.maior, 79 (The Hague, 1979), 76–77.

reflect the era of colonialism. They joined the country to Western technology and life style. Precisely these ties, expressed in the special terminologies of fashion, the military, architecture, music, literature, and, very strongly, the societal class system, kept Greece in the Western orbit during the centuries of Ottoman domination.

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